A frutefull

pleasaunt, & wittie worke,

of the beste state of a publique weale, and of the newe yle, called Utopia: written in Latine, by the right worthie and famous Syr Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englishe by Raphe Robynson, sometime fellowe of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and nowe by him at this seconde edition newlie perused and corrected, and also with diuers notes in the margent augmented.

Imprinted at London, by Abraham Vele, dwellinge in Pauls churchyarde, at the signe of the Lambe.

¶ The translator to the gentle reader.

You shalte vnderstande gētle reader that thoughe this worke of Utopia in English, come now the seconde tyme furth in Print, yet was it neuer my minde nor intente, that it shoulde euer haue bene Imprinted at all, as who for no such purpose toke vpō me at the firste the translation therof: but did it onelye at the request of a frende, for his owne priuate vse, vpon hope that he wolde haue kept it secrete to hym self alone. Who though I knew to be a man in deede, both very wittie, & also skilful, yet was I certē, that in the knowledge of the Latin tonge, he was not so well sene, as to be hable to iudge of the fineues or courseues of my translation. Wherfore I wente the more sleightlye through with it, propoundynge to my selfe therein, rather to please my sayde frendes iudgemente, then myne owne. To the meanelle of whose learninge I

thoughte it my part to submit, and attemper my stile. Lightlie therefore I ouerran the whole woorke, and in shorte tyme, with more hast, then good spede, I brought it to an ende. But as the latin prouerbe sayeth: The hastye bitche bringeth furth blind whelpes. For whē this my woorke was finished, the rudenes therof shewed it to be done in poste haste. How be it, rude and bare though it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter that to Imprintinge it came, and that partly against my will. Howbeit not beinge able in this behalfe to resist the pitthie persuasions of my frendes, and perceauing therfore none other remedy, but that furth it shoulde: I comforted myselfe for the tyme, only with this notable saying of Terence.

Ita vita est hominum, quasi quū ludas tesseris
Si illud, quod est maxumè opus, iactu nō cadit
Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte vt corrigas.

In which verses the Poete likeneth or compareth the life of man to a diceplayng or a game at the tables: Meaninge therin, if that chaunce rise not, which is most for the players aduauntage, that

the

then the chaunce, whiche fortune hathe sent, ought so cõyngly to be played, as may be to the plater leaft dammage. By the which worthy similitude surely the wittie Poete geueth vs to vnderstãde, that though in any of our actes and doynges, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and misse of our good pretensed purpose, so that the successe and our intent proue thinges farre oute: yet so we ought with wittie circumspection to handle the matter, that no euyll or incõmoditie, as farre forth as may be, and as in vs lieth, do therof ensue. According to the whiche counsell, though I am in dede in comparison of an experte gamester a cõning player, but a verye bungler, yet haue I in this bychaunce, that on my side vnwares hath fallen, so (I suppose) behaued myself, that, as doubtles it might haue bene of me much more cõningly handled, had I forethought so much, or doubted any such sequele at the beginninge of my plate: so I am suer it had bene much worse then it is, if I had not in the ende loked somwhat earnestlye to my game. For though this worke

came not frō me so fine, so perfecte, & so exact ꝑat firſt, as surely for my smale lerning, it ſhould haue done, yf I had then ment the publiſhing therof in print: yet I truſt I haue now in this ſecōde editiō take about it ſuch paines, & verye fewe great faultes & notable errours are in it to be foūde. Now therfore, moſt gentle reader, the meaneſſe of this ſimple tranſlation, & the faultes that be therin (as I feare muche there be ſome) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in full conſideration of the premiſſes, gentlye & fauourablye winke at them. So doynge thou ſhalt miniſter vnto me good cauſe to thinke my labour and paynes herein not altogethers beſtowed in vaine.

VALE.

¶ Thomas More to Peter Giles, sendeth gretynge.

I Am almoste ashamed, right welbeloued Peter Giles, to send vnto you this boke of Vtopian commen wealth, whiche I am sure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe. And no marueil. For you knewe well ynough, that I was alreadye vtterlye vnfurnished of all the laboure and studye belonginge to the inuention in this worke, and that I had no neede at al to troubles my braines about the disposition, or conueiaūce of the matter: and therfore had herein nothing els to do, but only to rehearse those thinges, whiche you and I togethers hard maister Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cause why I shuld studye to set forth the matter wt eloquence: for as much as his talke could not be fine & eloquent, beyng firste not studied for, but suddein & vnpremeditate, and then, as you know, of a man

better seene in the Greke language, then in the latin tonge. And my wittynge, the nieglier it should approche to his homely plaine, and simple speche, somuche the nieglier should it go to the trueth: which is the onelye marke, wherunto I do and ought to directe all my trauail and study herin. I graunte and confesse, frende Peter, myselfe discharged of so muche labour, hauinge all these thinges ready done to my handes, that almoste there was nothinge left for me to do. Elles either the inuention, or the disposition of this matter myghte haue required of a witte neither base, neither at all vnlearned, both some time and leasure, and also some studie. But if it were requisite, and necessarie, that the matter shoulde also haue bene written eloquentlie, and not alone truelye: of a surretie that thynge coulde I haue performed by no tyme nor studye. But nowe seynge all these cares, stayes, and letters were taken awaye, wherin elles so muche labours and studye shoulde haue bene employed, and that there remayned no other thynge for me to do, but onelye

Trueth loueth simplicitie and playnes.

to

to write playnelie the matter as I hath it spoken: that in deede was a thynge lighte and easye to be done. Notwithstandynge to the dispatchynge of thys so lytle busynesse my other cares and troubles did leaue almost lesse, then nu leasure. Whiles I doo dayelie destroyde my time aboute lawe matters: some to pleade, some to heare, some as an arbitratoure with myne awarde to determine, some as an umpier or a Iudge, with my sentence finallye to discusse. Whiles I go one waye to se and visite my frendes an other waye about myne owne priuate affaires. Whiles I spende almost all the day aboute emonges other, and the residue at home among mine owne: I leaue to my self, I meane to my booke no time For when I am come home, I muste commen with my wife, chatte with my children, and talke with my seruauntes. All the whiche thinges I reckon and accompte amonge businesse, forasmuche as they muste of necessitie be done: and done muste they nedes be, onelesse a man wyll be straunger in his

The authoures busines & letes.

his owne house. And in ampe wyse a man muste so fashyon and wyer hys conditions, and so appoint and dispose hym selfe, that he be merie, iocunde, and pleasaunt amonge them, whom eyther nature hathe prouided, or chaunce hath made, or he hym selfe hath chosen to be the felowes, and companyons of hys life: so that with to muche gentle behauioure & familiaritie, he do not marre them, and by to muche sufferaunce of his seruauntes, make them his maysters. Emonge these thynges nowe rehearsed, stealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. Whan do I write these? And all this while haue I spoken no wyrde of slepe, nyther yet of meate, which emong a great nũber doth waste no lesse tyme, then doeth slepe, wherein almoste halfe the life tyme of man creepeth awaye. I therefore do wynne and get onelye that tyme, whiche I reaue from slepe and meate. Whiche tyme because it is very little, and yet somwhat it is, therfore haue I ones at the laste, thoughe it be longe first, finished Vtopia, and haue sent it to you, frende Peter,

Meate & slepe great wasters of time.

ter, to reade and peruse: to the intente that yf anye thynge haue escaped me, you might put me in remembraunce of it. For thoughe in this behalfe I do not greatlye mistruste my selfe (whiche woulde God I were somwhat in wit and learninge, as I am not all of the worste and dullest memorye) yet haue I not so great truste and confidence in it, that I thinke nothinge coulde fall out of my mynde. For John Clement my boye, who as you knowe was there presente with vs, whome I suffer to be awaye fro me no talke, wherein maye be any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this pouge blaped and newe shotte vp come, whiche hathe alreadye begon to spring vp both in Latin and Greke learninge, I loke for plentifull increase at length of goodly ripe grayne) he I saye hathe brought me into a greate doubte. For whereas Hythlodaye (onelesse my memorye fayle me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote, whyche goethe ouer the riuer of Anyder is fyue hundreth paces, that is to saye, halfe a myle in lengthe: my John sayeth that two hundred of

John Clemens

those

those paseis muste be plucked alway, for that the ryuer conteyneth there not a-boue thiee hundreth paseis in breadthe. I praye you hartelye call the matter to youre remembraunce. For yf you a-gree wyth hym, I also wyll saye as you saye, and conclude mylelie determined. But if you cannot remember the thyng, then surelye I wyll write as I haue done, and as myne owne remembraunce serueth me. For as I wyll take good heede, that there be in my booke nothing false, so yf there be anye thynge doubte-full, I wyll rather tell a lye, then make a lie: bycause I had rather be good, then wise. Howebeit thys matter maye easelye be remedied, yf you wyll take the paynes to aske the question of Ra-phael him selfe by woorde of mouthe, if he be nowe with you, or elles by youre letters, whiche you muste needes do for an other doubte also, that hathe chaunced, throughe whose faulte I can-not tell: whether through mine, or youre, or Raphaels. For neyther we remem-bred to enquire of him, nor he to tell vs in what part of the newe woorld Vtopia

A diuersitie betweene making a lye, and telling a lie.

In what parte of the worlde Vtopia standeth it is vnknowen.

is situate. The whiche thinge, I had ra-
ther haue spent no small somme of mo-
ney, then that it should thus haue scap-
ped vs: as well for that I am ashamed to
be ignorant in what sea that Ilande ly-
eth, wherof I write so long a treatise,
as also because there be with vs certen
men, and especially one vertuous and
godly man, and a professour of diuinitie,
who is exceedynge desirous to go vnto
Vtopia: not for a vayne and curious
desyre to see newes, but to the intente
he maye further and increase oure reli-
gion, whiche is there alreadye luckelye
begonne. And that he maye the better
accomplyshe and perfourme this hys
good intente, he is myuded to procure
that he maye be sente thether by the
bysshop: yea and that he hym-
selfe may be made Bysshoppe of Vtopia,
beynge nothynge scrupulous herein,
that he muste obteyne this Bysshopricke
with suete. For he counteth that a god-
ly suete, whiche proceedeth not of the de-
sire of honoure or lucre, but onelie of
a godlie zeale. Wherfore I muste ear-
nestly

It is thoughte of some that here is vnkyndely ment the late famous vicare of Croydon in Surrey.

A godly suete.

nestly desire you, frende Peter, to talke with Pythlodaye, yf you can, face to face, or els to wryte youre letters to hym, and so to worke in thys matter, that in this my booke there maye neyther anye thinge be founde, whyche is untrue, neyther any thinge be lacking, whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it shalbe well done, that you shewe unto him the booke it selfe. For yf I have myssed or fayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulte haue escaped me, no man can so well correcte and amende it, as he can: and yet that can he not do, onelesse he perule and reade ouer my booke written. Moreouer by this meanes shall you perceaue, whether he be well wyllynge and content, that I shoulde undertake to put this worke in writyng. For if he be mynded to publyshe, and put forth his owne labours, and traualles himselfe, perchaunce he woulde be lothe, and so woulde I also, that in publishynge the Utopiane weale publyque, I shoulde preuent him, & take frome him the flower and grace of the nouelte of this his hystorie. Howbeit,

to

to saye the verye treuth, I am not yet fullye determined with my selfe, whether I will put furth my booke or no. For the natures of men be so diuers, the phantasies of some so wayward, their myndes so vnkynde, their iudgementes so corrupte, that they which leade a merie and a iocounde lyfe, followynge theyr owne sensuall pleasures and carnall lustes, maye seme to be in a muche better state or case, the they that vexe and vnquiete themselues with cares and studie for the puttinge forthe and publishynge of some thynge, that maye be either profett or pleasure to others: whiche others neuertheles will disdaynfully, scornefully, & vnkindly accepte the same. The moost part of al be vnlearned. And a greate number hathe learning in contempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing, but that which is verie barbarous in deede. If it be one that hath a litle smache of learnynge, he reiecteth as homely geare & common ware, whatsoeuer is not stuffed full of olde moughteaten termes, & that be worne out of vse. Some there be

The vnkyndes iudgementes of men.

he that hath pleasure onelye in olde rudis antiquities. And some onelie in cheere ouine bonges. One is so fowle, so leathed and so vnpleasaunte, that he can abyde with no myethe nor sporte. An other is so narrowe betweene 2 drui bres, that he can beare no iestes nor ch in some feil poore soules be so straite that at euerye trappithe breathe their laste shall be taken of. Some fare in vnlefe perse of euerye quiche and [illegible] Some be [illegible] Some be so [illegible] that euerye [illegible] and other [illegible] vpon [illegible] and [illegible] of the [illegible] with greate [illegible] then [illegible] as [illegible] springe the [illegible] more [illegible] manes [illegible] and [illegible] stinge them: beside [illegible] the meane season [illegible] and as [illegible] the prouerbe, out of all [illegible] of [illegible]

[illegible] spotte

sholde: For why, they be so smugge & smothe, that they haue not so much as one heares of an honeste man, wherby one may take holde of them. There be moreouer some so vnkynde, and vngentle, that though they take great pleasure, and delectation in the feaste, yet for all that, they can not fynde in their hertes to loue the Author therof, nor to afforde him a good worde: beynge much like vnconrteous, vnthankfull, and churlish gestes. Whiche when they haue with good and daintie meates well filled their bellyes, departe home, geuyng no thankes to the feaste maker. Go your wayes now, & make a costlye feaste at youre owne charges for gestes so daynte mouthed, so diuers in taste, and beside that of so vnkynde and vnthankfull natures. But neuertheles (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Dithiodap, as I willed you before. And as for this matter I shall be at my libertie, afterwardes to take newe aduisement. Howbeit, seeyng I haue taken great paynes and labour in writyng the matter, if it may stande

A fyne Similitude.

with his myndе and pleasure, I wyll
as touchyng the edicion of publishyng
of the boohe, followe the counsell and
aduise of my frendes, and specially
yours. Thus fare you well right hee-
tely beloued frende Peter, with
yours gentle wife; and loue
me as you haue ener done,
for I loue you better
then you I
bpd.

The first Booke of the cõmunication of Raphael Hythloday, concernyng the best state of a cõmen welth.

The moste victorious & triumphant Kyng of Englande Henrye the eyght of that name, in al rotal vertues, a Prince moste perfecte, hadde of late in controuersie wt Charles, the right highe and mightye Kyng of Castile, weighty matters, & of great importaũce. For the debatement & final determinatiõ wherof, the kinges Maiestie sent me Ambassadour into Flaunders, ioyned in Cõmission with Cuthbert Tunstall, a man doutlesse out of comparison, and whom the Kynges Maiestie of late, to the great reioysynge of all men, dyd preferre to the office of Master of the Rolles. Cuthbert Tunstall.

But of this mannes prayses I

wyll saye nothyng, not bicause I doe feare that small credence shalbe geuen to the testimonye that cometh out of a friendes mouthe: but bicause his learning and knowyng be greater, and of more excellency, then that I am able to praise them: and also in all places so famous & so perfectly well knowne, that they neede not, nor oughte not of me to be praysed: but lette I wolde fayne to shewe, and testifye the brightnes of the same with a candell, as the prouerbe saieth. There mette vs at Bruges (for thus it was before agreed) they whom their Prince had for that matter appointed Ambassadours: excellent men all. The chiefe and the head of them was the Marterdam (as they call him) of Bruges, a right honorable man: but the wisest & the best spoke of them was George Temlier, prouost of Cassells, a man not only by learning, but also by nature of singular eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reasoning, and debating of matters what by his naturall wytte, & what by daily exercise, surely he hadde few fel-

lowes.

lowes. After that we had ouer ouerthwarte, and vpon certayne poynctes or articles couenaunt not fully and throughly agree, they for a certayne space toke their leaue of vs, & departed to Bruges, ellis, there to know their Princes pleasure. I in the meane time (for to my business lape) wente straighte thence to Antwerpe, whiles I was there abidyng, often times amonge other, but whiche to me was more welcome then manye other, did visite me one Master Gyles, a citizen of Antwerpe. A man Peter Gyles. there of his countrey of honest reputation, and the preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the brother. For it is hard to say, whether the pongman be in learning, or in honesty more excellent. For he is both of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and also singularly well learned, and conuersaunt in all sortes of people exceedyng ientyll. But towardes his frendes so harty, so louyng, so faithfull, so frendly, and of so earnest affection, that I neuer peraduenture haue in any place, to finde a man, that with him in all poyntes of frend-

thinge maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous. No man vſeth leſſe ſimulation or diſſimulation, in no man is more prudent ſimplicitie. Beſides this, he is in his talke and communication ſo merye and pleaſaunte, yea and that without harme, that throughe his gentyll interlaynements, and his ſweete and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated, and diminiſhed the feruente deſyre, that I had to ſee my native countrey, my wyfe and my children, whom then I did muche longe and coueite to ſee, becauſe that at that time I had been more then .viii. monethes from them. Upon a certayne daye when I hadde herde the diuine ſeruice in our Ladies Churche, which is the fayreſt, the moſt gorgeous and curious Churche of buyldyng in all the Citie, and alſo moſt frequented of people, and the ſeruice beynge doone, was readye to go home to my lodgynge, I chaunced to eſpye this foreſayde Peter talkynge with a certayne Straunger, a man well ſtricken in age, with a blacke

ſonne

sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders. whome by his fauoure and apparell forthwith I iudged to bee a mariner. Assone as they were seyng me, came into me, and saluted me. And as I was aboute to answere him: for soth (quod he) I knewe this man, and therewith he poynted to the man that I came first vnto (whose name I had not long before) I was myndyd, quod he, to bringe him straighte home to you. He should have ben very welcome to me, sayd I, for your sake. Nay (quod he) for his owne sake, if you knewe him: for there is no man this day liuyng, that can tell you of so many straunge & vnknowen peoples, and countreyes, as this man can. And I know wel that you be very desirous to heare of suche matters. Then I coniectured not farre a misse (quod I) for euen at the first sight, I iudged him to be a mariner. Nay (quod he) there ye were greatly deceyued, he hath sailed in deede, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the experte & prudent prince Vlisses: yea, rather as the auncient and

Raphaell Mythologe.

sage Philosopher Plato. For this same Raphaell Mythologe (for this is his name) is very well learned in the Latine tongue: but profounde and excellent in the Greke tongue, wherin he euer delighted more greatly then in the Latine, because he had geuen himselfe wholy to the study of Philosophy. And herof he knew that there is nothyng extante in Latine, that is in any purpose, saue onely a fewe of Seneca, and Ciceroes bookes. This gentilmanne that he was borne vnto, he left to his brethren (for he is a Portugall borne) and for the welthe that he had to see and beholde the fayre Countreyes of the worlde, he spente himselfe in companye with Americus Vesputius, and in the last three voyages of the same, that he made, he continued styll in his company, sauyng that in the last he came not home with him: for he made sute, and wolde by no meanes, that he myght come home, (though it were for to see his

his wyll, to be one of the xxiiii. whiche in the ende of the last voyage were left in the countrey of Gulike. He was thryfore lefte behynde for hys manifolde study, as one that tooke more thoughte and care for trauailyng, then dyd the yonge rable, customably in his mouth these sayynges. He that hath no gosse, is couered with the fayre skye, the lyke to beaue out of all places is of the lengthe and distaunce. Which sayinges of his (if God had not deuthis purpose frustrate) he had surely bought full deare. But after the departyng of Master Hythlodye, when he had trauailed thorough and aboute many Countreyes with v. of his companions Gulikians, at the last by meruaylous chaunce he arriued in Taprobane, from whence he went to Calicute, where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countreye shippes, wherein he returned agayne into his Countreye, nothynge lesse then looked for. All this when I dyd here tolde me, I thanked him for his gentle kyndnesse that he had vouchesafed to bynge me to the speache of them, whole and

communication: he thoughte shoulde be to me pleasaunte, and acceptable. And therewith I tourned me to Raphaell. And when wee hadde hayled eche other, and hadde spoken these commune wordes, that bee customably spoken at the first meeting, and acquaintaunce of straungers, we yode thence to my house, and there in my gardaine upon a bench couered with grene torues, we satte downe talkyng together. There he tolde vs, how that after the departyng of Vespuce, he and his fellowes that tarried behynde in Gadeike, began by litle and litle, through fayre and gentle speache, to wynne the loue and fauoure of the people of that countrey, insomuche that within shorte space, they vsed dwell amonges them, not only harmelesse, but also occupying with them verye familiarly. He tolde vs also, that they were in high reputacion and fauour with a certayne great man (whose name and Countreye is nowe quite out of my remembraunce) which of his owne liberalitie vsed beare the coste and charges of him and his

fyue

lyue companions. And besides that gaue theim a truelye guyde to conducte them in their iourney (which by water was in botes, and by land in wagons) and to bringe theim to other Princes with verye frendlye commendations. Thus after many dayes iourneye, he sayd, they founde townes, and Cities, and weale publiques, full of people, gouerned by good and holsome lawes. For vnder the line equinoctiall, and on bothe sydes of the same, as farre as the Sonne doth extende his course, lyeth (quod he) great, and wyde deserte and wilderneses, parched, burned, and wyed vp with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges bee hideous, terrible, lothesome, and vnpleasaunt to beholde: All thynges out of fassyon, and comelinesse, inhabited withe wylde Beastes, and Serpentes, or at the leaste wyse, with people, that be no lesse sauage, wylde, and noysome, then the verye beastes theim selues be. But a litle farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle and lytle to waxe pleasaunte. The ayre

ſofte, temperate & gentle. The grounde couered with greene graſſe. Leſſe boldneſſe in the beaſtes. At the laſt ſhall ye come agayne to people, cities & townes wherein is continuall entercourſe and occupying of merchaundiſe and chaffare, not only among themſelues, and with theire Borderers, but alſo with Merchauntes of farre Countreyes, bothe by lande & water. There I had occaſion (ſayd he) to go to many countreyes on euery ſyde. For there was no ſhippe redy to any voyage or iourney, but I and my fellawes were into it verye gladly receyued. The ſhippes that thei founde firſt were verye playne, flatte, & broade in the botome, rough with. The ſayles were made of great rudſhes, or of wickers, & in ſome places of leather. Afterwarde thei founde ſhippes with ryuged ſayles: and ſayles of canuaſſe, pes, and ſhotte after beyng all chynges ſyke ouers. The ſhipmen alſo verye expert and cunnynge, bothe in the ſea, and in the wether. But he ſaide, that he founde great fauoure and frendſhip amonge them, for teachynge

Shippes of ſtraunge faſhion

them

them the feate and vse of the lode stone. The lode stone.
which to them before that time was vnknowne. And therfore they were wonte to be verye timerous & fearfull vpon the sea: Nor to venter vpon it, but only in the somer time. But nowe they haue suche a confidence in that stone, that they feare not stormy winter: ye so boldinge farther from fare then daunger. In so muche, that it is greatly to be doubted, lest that thynge, through the ouerwise foolish hardinesse, shall tourne them to hurt and harme, which at the first was supposed should be to them good and profitable. But what he tolde vs that he sawe in euerye countreye where he came, it were verye longe to declare. Neither it is my purpose at this time to make rehersall therof. But peraduenture in an other place I will speake of it, chiefly suche thynges as shall be profitable to be knowen, as in speciall be those lawes and ordinaunces, that he marked to be well and wittely deuised and enacted amonge suche peoples, as do liue togeither in a ciuile politye, and good ordre.

For

For of suche thynges dyd we busely enquire, and demaunde of him, and he likewise very willingly tolde vs of the same. But as for monsters, bycause they be no newes, of them we were nothyng inquisityue. For nothyng is more easye to be founde, then be barbynge Scythians, eatyng Cyclopes, and Lestrigones deuourers of people, & suche lyke greue, and incredible monsters. But to finde Cyuilene rules by good and holsome lawes, there is more trauayle, and harder thyng. But as he many thynges louyng, and lyked the lawes in those newe founde landes, so he required diuers actes and constitutions, whereby these our Cities, Nations, Countreis, and Kyngdomes may take example to amende their faultes, enormities and errours. Whereof in another place (as I hope) I will intreate. Howbeit at this time I am determined to rehearse onely that he tolde vs of the maners, fashions, lawes, & discipline of the Utopians. But first I will repete our former communication by the occasion, and (as I might say) the

like

matter whereof, he was brought into the
mynde of that weale publique.
Also, when Raphael had very prudent-
ly touched diuers thynges, that be a-
misse, some here, and some there, yea,
very many on both the partes, and againe
had spoken of suche wise lawes, & pro-
fitable decrees, as be established, and
vsed, both here amongs vs, and also
there amongs them, as a man so per-
fecte, and experte in the lawes, and cu-
stomes of euery seuerall Countrey, as
though into what place soeuer he came
straunge, there he had lyued all his life
then Peter maruelyng at the
man: Surely, maister Raphael (quod
he) I wonder greatly, why you get
you not vnto some kynges courte. For
I am sure, there is no Prince liuyng,
that would not be very glad of you, as a
man not only able highly to delite him
with your profounde learnyng, & chie-
fely knowledge of countreis, & peoples,
but also meete to instructe him with ex-
amples, and helpe him with counsell.
And thus doyng, you shall bryng your
selfe in a wonder good sate, and also

be

be of habilitie to helpe all youre frende
e kinſfolke. As concernyng my frende
and kynſfolke (quod he) I paſſe no
greatly for them. For I thinke I haue
ſufficientely doone my parte towarde
them alreadye. For thoſe thynges, that
other men doo not departe from, vntyl
they be olde and ſycke, yea, whiche they
be them verye lothe to leaue, when they
cannot no longer keepe, thoſe haue I lefte
thynges ayde. I beyng not onely luſtye
and in good helth, but alſo in the flowre
of my youth, diuided among my feendes
and kynſfolkes, whiche I thynke with
this my liberalitie ought to holde them
contented, & not to maruell nor to looke
that beſydes this, I ſhoulde for their
ſakes geue myſelfe in bondage vnto
Kinges. Nay, God forbyd that (quod
Peter) it is nothe my mynde that you
ſhoulde be in bondage to kynges, but
as a retaynour to ſhewe your pleaſure
whiche ſurely I thinke is the nigheſt
waye that you can deuiſe howe to beſtow
ſtowe your time frutefully, not onely
for the priuate cõmodities of youre frende
des, and for the generall profite of all

sortes of people, but also for the advancement of your self to a much wealthier state, and condition, then you be nowe in. To a welthie condition (quod Raphael) by that meanes, that you maynde kindely embrace agreed? How I pray you should I imbrace anie commoditie and pleasure, (quod he) whyle I should live after an other mans fantasie, which am able to live after mine owne, and that most merily? Yea, and there be manie of my companions, yea and such as I doe more esteeme and love then my selfe, which I am sure can live, yea, and doe live very merily without these great matters. Forsomuche as I am free and not bounde to anie seruice, I maye when so ever I will, returne into my countrie. Nay, (quod he) that way thou canst not come, I meane, that thou canst not come honestly. For it is not inough for a man to have a liberall and gentle nature, unless he have also a mynde and skyll to use familiarly the occasions of thinges, if any man be apte for the purpose. And surely thou shalt be most unapte to any man, but most apte to bring all thinges to confusion and disorder, if thou shouldest give place to thy ease, and contemne and despise all men. Wherefore (my deare Raphael) I doe most earnestly exhorte and desire you, to applie your selfe to the life of some noble man, which can make much of you, and will advance you for our sakes, and for his owne pleasure. For these thinges be the allurementes of servitude, which (as I suppose) maketh even the most free willers to become bondemen to fortune, that you should frame your selfe and your studies to the manners of kinges and princes, which are nowe such as they are, that is to say, corrupte and starke naughtie. For you shall never bring to passe, that they will amende their manners, except you should take away from them their vices, wherewith their myndes are infected and corrupted. And so by this meanes you shall be nothing meete to helpe them, and lesse meete to helpe your selfe. Use therefore all the diligence you can, and all the meanes you may devise, to bring to passe, that princes may love you, and that they may have neede of your helpe. For it is not likely, that he will heare good counsell, which is not first persuaded, that he standeth in neede of counsell. For men be full of this vaine opinion, and are very desirous to seeme wise in their owne conceites. Let us two then (quod he) remaine here in this citie, and flatter not the rulers of the same, but rather let us boldly and openly declare unto them, that is to say, as occasion shall serve, and as we shall thinke best, and then let us see how they will take it, or how they will away with it. Yea, and there is no doubte, but we shall be compelled to use the lesse wordes, where as we shall seeme to have more neede of wordes. For there is no doubte, but that princes be so addicted and given to their owne affaires, and so earnestly bente upon the same, that they have more neede of wordes, and of lyes, then of counsell or truthe. Wherefore I doe plainly affirme and say, that I doe looke for no thanke at their handes. For what thanke is due unto a man for that he doth, when he doth nothing that is to purpose? Or what thanke shall I have at their handes, for that I, a man unknowen, and a meere stranger, shall offer my selfe unbidden, and intrude my counsell? Truely I thinke, that it is not the part of a philosopher to thrust himself into other mens businesse. For there is no matter, but he will finde inough to doe in his owne affaires. Yea, and I doe rejoice in this behalfe, that I am not moved with any ambitious desire of glorie. For I doe greatly abhorre the companie of those men, which are glorious and ambitious. Wherefore (quod he) you shall doe me a pleasure, and you shall doe also very wisely, if you will take upon you this matter, and if you will apply your selfe to the manners of princes, and to their fantasies. For I hope, that you shall soone obtaine of them, that they shall be willing to heare you. For your learning and knowledge in divers sciences, and your skyll in the Greeke learning, will make them to thinke, that you have learned your wisedome, not onely by reading of bookes, but also by long experience and exercise of things. Moreover, your countrie of Portingale will be a great furtherance unto you, for that the king thereof is a great warrier. Wherefore you shall not need to commende your learning unto him by the meanes of your friendes, but by your owne countrie. For I am sure, that you have no lesse wisedome, then he that hath most. Wherefore (quod he) you shall doe me a pleasure, and you shall doe also very wisely, if you will take upon you this matter, and if you will apply your selfe to the manners of princes, and to their fantasies. For I hope, that you shall soone obtaine of them, that they shall be willing to heare you. For your learning and knowledge in divers sciences, and your skyll in the Greeke learning, will make them to thinke, that you have learned your wisedome, not onely by reading of bookes, but also by long experience and exercise of things. Moreover, your countrie of Portingale will be a great furtherance unto you, for that the king thereof is a great warrier. Wherefore you shall not need to commende your learning unto him by the meanes of your friendes, but by your owne countrie. For I am sure, that you have no lesse wisedome, then he that hath most.

somewhat to youre owne payne and hyndraunce. And this shall you neuer so wel doe, nor with so greate profitte performe, as yf you be of some greate princes counsel, and put into his heade (as I doubte not but you wyl) honeste opinions, and vertuous persuasions. For from the prince, as from a perpetual wel springe, commethe amonge the people the floode of al that is good or euell. But in you is so perfitte learninge, that without anye experience, and agayne so greate experience, that wythoute anye learninge you maye well be any kinges counsellour. You be (sayde he) ryght in me, & agayne in the things it selfe. For neither is in me the habilitye that you force vpon me, and yf it were neuer so much, yet in disquieting myne owne quietnes I should nothing further the weale publique. For first of all, the moste parte of all princes haue more delyte in warlike matters, and feates of chiualrie (y knowlege whereof I neither haue nor desire) than in the good feates of peace; and employe

muche

muche more study, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than howe wel, and peaceablie to rule, and gouerne that they haue alredie. Moreouer, they that be counsellours to kinges, eurye one of them eyther is of himselfe so wise in deede, that he needeth not, or elles he thinketh himselfe so wise, that he will not allowe an other mans counsel, sauing that they do shamefully, and flatteringly geue assent to the fond and folishe sayinges of certeyn great menne, whose fauours, because they be of high authoritie with their prince, by assentation & flatterie they labour to obteyne. And verily it is naturally geuen to all men to esteme their owne inuentions best. So both the Rauen and the Ape thincke their owne yonge ones fayrest. Than if a man in such a company, where some disdayne and haue despite at other mens inuentions, and some counte their owne best, if among suche menne (I say) a man should bringe furth any thinge, that he hath redde done in tymes paste, or that he hath seene done in other places: there the hearers fare as

though the whole eſtimation of theyr
kyndome were in ieoperdye to be ouer-
throwen, & that euer after thei ſhoulde
be coũted for verye diſeaſes, yules they
could in other mens inuentions pycke
out matter to reprehend, & finde fault at.
If all other poore helpes fayle: then
this is their extreame refuge. Theſe
thinges (ſay they) pleaſed our forefa-
thers and auncetours: wolde God we
coulde be ſo wiſe as thei were: and as
though thei had wittely conſidered the
matter, and with this authorite ſtopped
euery mans mouth, thei litle paſſone a-
gaine. As who ſhould ſai, it were a ver-
ye daungerous matter, if a man in any
ponite ſhould be founde wiſer then his
forefathers were. And yet bee we con-
tent to ſuffre the deuyſe & wittie of their
decrees to lye vnexecuted: but if in any
thing a better vyce myght haue ben ta-
ken, then by them was, there we take
faſt hold, findyng therin many faultes.
Many tymes haue I chaunced vpon
ſuch proude, leude, ouerthwarte, and
waywarde iudgementes, yea, & once
in England: I prai you Syr (quod I)

haue

Tryphaders.

Parcial iudge-
mentes.

hene you ben in our countrey? Yea forsoth (quod he) & there I taried for the space of .iii. or .v. monethes together, not longe after the insurrection, & the wycked ryne English men made against their kyng, which by their owne miserable and pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended. In the whane season I was muche bounde and beholdynge to the right reuerende father, Iohn Morton, Archebishop and Cardenal of Canterbury, & at that time also lorde Chaunceliour of Englande: a man (Master Peter (for Master More knoweth already that I will saye) not more honorable for his auctoritie, then for his prudence & vertue. He was of a meane stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his bodye vpright. In his face did shine such an amiable reuerence, as was pleasaunte to beholde. Gentill in communication, yet earnest, and sage. He had great delite manye times with rough speache to his sewters, to proue, but without harme, what prompte wittes, and what bolde spirite were in euery man. In the which

Cardenall Morton.

as in a vertue much agreeinge with his nature, ſo that therewith were not ioyned impudency, he toke greate delectacyon. And the ſame perſon, as apte and meete to haue an adminiſtracyon in the weale publique, he dyd louingly embrace. In his ſpeche he was fyne, eloquente, and pythye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellente. Theſe qualitees, which in hym were by nature ſingular, he by learninge and vſe had made perfecte. The Kynge put muche truſte in his counſel, the weale publyque alſo in a maner leaned vnto hym, when I was there. For euen in the chiefe of his youth he was take from ſchole into the Courte, and there paſſed all his tyme in much trouble & buſines, beyng cõtinually tumbled & toſſed in the waues of dyuers myſfortunes & aduerſities. And ſo by many and greate daungers he lerned the experience of the worlde, whiche ſo beinge learned can not eaſely be forgotten. It chaunced on a certayne daye, when I ſate at his table,

there

there was also a certayne laye mā cun
nynge in the lawes of youre Realme,
who, I can not tell wherof takynge
occasion, began diligētly and earnestly
to praise that straite and rygorous iu-
stice, which at that tyme was there ex-
ecuted vpon felones, who as he sayde,
were for the moste part .xx. hanged to-
gether vpon one gallowes. And, seyng
so fewe escaped punyshement, he sayde
he coulde not chuse, but greatly won-
der and maruel, howe and by what e-
uil lucke it shold so come to passe, that
theues neuertheles were in euery place
so ryfe and so rancke. Naye Syr quod
I (for I durst boldely speake my minde
before the Cardinal) maruel nothinge
here at: for this punyshement of theues
passeth the limites of Justice, and
is also very hurtefull to the weale pu-
blique. For it is to extreame and cruel
a punishment for thefte, & yet not suf-
ficient to refrayne & withhold men frō
thefte. For simple thefte is not so great
an offense, that it ought to be punished
with death. Neither ther is any punish
ment so horrible, that it can kepe them
from

Of lawes not made accordig to equitie.

frome stealynge, whiche haue no other craft, wherby to get their liuyng. Therfore in this poynte, not you onlye, but also the most part of the world, be like cupill scholemaisters, which be readyer to beate, then to teache, their scholers. For great & horrible punishmētes be appointed for theues, whereas much rather prouision should haue ben made, that there were some meanes, wherby they myght get their liuyng, so that no man shoulde be dryuen to this extreme necessitie, firste to steale, and then to dye. Yes (quod he) this matter is wel ynough prouided for already. There be handy craftes, there is husbandrye to gette their liuynge by, if they would not willingly be nought. Nay, quod I, you shall not chape so: for first of all, I wyll speake nothynge of them, that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not longe a go, oute of Blache heath fielde, and a litell before that, out of the warres in Fraūce: suche, I saye, as put their liues in ieoperdye for the weale publiques or the kynges sake, and by reason of weake-

By what meanes ther might be fewer theues & robbers.

nesse

neſſe & lamenesse be not hable to occupye their olde crafftes, and be to aged to learne newe: of them I wyll speake nothing, forasmuch as warres haue their ordinarie recourse. But let vs consider those thinges that chaunce daily before our eyes. First there is a great numbre of gentlemē, which can not be content to liue idle themselfes, lyke drones, of ꝯ whiche other haue laboured for: their tenauntes I meane, whom they polle & shaue to the quicke, by rearyng their rentes (for this onlye poynte of frugalitie do they vse, men els through their lauasse & prodigall spendynge, hable to bringe themselfes to verye beggerye) these gentlemen, I say, do not only liue in idlenesse themselfes, but also carrye about with them at their tailes a great flocke or traine of idle and loy terynge seruyngmen, which neuer learned any craft wherby to gette their liuynges. These men as sone as their mayster is dead, or be sicke themselfes, be incontinent thrust out of doores. For gentlemē hadde rather keepe idle persones, then sicke men, & many times the dead maus

Idlenesse the mother of theues.

Landlordes by the way cherished for Rentraisyng:

Of Idle seruyng mē coms theues.

heyre is not hable to maintaine so great a house, and kepe so many seruing men as his father dyd. Then in the meane season they that be thus destitute of seruice, either starue for honger, or manfullye playe the theues. For what would you haue thē to do? when they haue wandred abrode so longe, vntyl they haue worne threde bare their apparell, & also appaired their helth, then gentlemē because of their pale and sickely faces, and patched cotes, will not take them into seruice. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke: Knowynge wel ynonghe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and faythful seruice to a poore man wyth a spade and a mattoke for small wages and hard fare, whyche beynge deyntely and tenderly pampered vp in pollyes and pleasure, was wont with a swoorde and a buckler by hys syde to tette throughe the streete with a braggynge loke, and to thynke hym selfe to good to be anye mans mate. Naye by sayut Mary sir (quod the lawier) not so. For this kynde of men muste we make moste

of

ol. For in them as men of lowter stomaches, bolder spirites, and manlyer courages then handycraftes men and plowemen be, doth consiste the whole power, strength, and puissaunce of oure army, when we must fight in battayle. For clothe sir as well you myghte saye (quod I) yf for warres sake you muste kepe the theues. For surely you shall neuer lacke theues, whyles you haue thi. No nor theues be not the most false and faynt harted soldiers, nor soldiours be not the cowardliest theues: so wel thees. ii. craftes agree together. But this faulte, though it be much vsed amonge you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but commen also almoste to all nations. Yet Fraunce besides this is troubled & infected with a much sorer plage. The whole royalme is spyed and besieged with hyered soldiours in peace tyme (yf that bee peace) whyche be brought in vnder the same colour and pretense, that hath perswaded you to kepe these yonge scrupulous men. For thies wyse fooles & verye archedoltes thought the wealthe of the whole

Betwene soldiers & theues small diuersitie

whole coūtrey herin to consist, if they were euer in a redinesse a stronge and sure garrison, specially of old practised soudiours, for they put no trust at all in men vnexercised. And therfore they must be forced to seke for warre, to the ende they may euer haue practised soudiours, & cunnyng mā lieters, lest that (as it is pretely sayde of Salust) their handes & their mindes through idlenes or lacke of exercise, should ware dul. But howe pernitious and perilouse a thyng it is to maintayne suche beastes, the Frenche men, by their owne harmes haue learned, and the examples of the Romaynes, Carthaginiens, Spaniens, and of manye other countreyes doo manifestly declare. For not onlye the Empire, but also the strēgthes and Cities of all these, by diuers occasions haue bene ouerrunne & destroyed of their owne armies before hande had in a redinesse. Now how vnnecessary a thinge this is, hereby it maye appeare: that the Frenche soudiours, which from their youth haue ben practised and inured in feates of armes, do

What inconueniences cometh by continuall garisons of soudiours.

not

not cracke nor aduaunce themselues to haue very often gotte the vpper hande in battey of your new made and vnpractised souldiours. But in this poynte I will not vse many woordes, leste perchaunce I maye seeme to flatter you. Ye not those same handy crafte men of yours in Citties, nor yet the ease and splendrith plodament of the countreye, are not supposed to be greatly afrayde of your gentlemens vile seruyngmen, vnlesse it be suche as be not of body or stature correspondent to their strength and courage, or els whose boldenesse maye be discouraged throughe pouertie. Thus you maye see, that it is not to be feared lest they should be effeminated, or that were brought vp in good craftes and labourisome woorkes, whereby to gette their liuynges, whose stoute and hardye bodyes (for gentlemen vouchesafe to corrupte & spill none but picked and choyce men) now either by reason of rest and idlenesse be brought to weaknesse: or els by to early and womanly exercises be made feble, and vnhable to endure hardnesse. Truly howe so euer

the

the case standeth, thys me thinketh i
nothing auayleable to the weale pu
blique, for warre sake, whiche you ne
uer haue, but when you wyl youre se
fes, to kepe and mainteyn an vnnume
rable flocke of that sort of men, that b
so troublesome and noyous in peace
wherof you ought to haue a thousan
times more regarde, the of warre. Bu
yet this is not only the necessary cau
of stealing. There is an other, whych
as I suppose, is yet a peculiar to you
Englishemen alone. What is that, quo
the Cardinal? forsoth my lorde (quo
I) your sheepe that were wont to be so
meke and tame, & so smal eaters, now,
as I heare saye, be become so great de
uourers and so wylde, that they eate
vp, and swallow downe the very men
themselfes. They consume, destroye,
& deuoure whole fieldes, howses, and
cities. For looke in what partes of the
realme doth growe the finest, and
therfore dearest woll, there noble men,
and gentlemen: yea and certeyn Abbot
tes, holy men no doubt, not contenting

English sheepe deuourers of men.

them

them selfes with the yearely reuenues and profytes, that were wont to growe to theyr forefathers and predecessours of their landes, nay beynge content that they liue in rest and pleasure nothinge profityng, yea much noyinge the weale publique: leaue no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures: thei throwe doune houses: they plucke downe townes, and leaue nothing standynge, but only the churche to be made a shepehouse. And as thoughe you lost no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chases, laundes, and parkes, those good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into desolation and wildernes. Therfore that on couetous and insatiable cormaraunte and very plage of his natyue contrey maye compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers of grounde together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne, or els either by coueyne and fraude, or by violent oppression they be put besydes it, or by wronges and iniuries thei be so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all: by one meanes

Shepe maisters decayers of husbandrye.

meanes therfore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muſte nedes departe awaye, poore, ſelye, wretched ſoules, men, women, huſbandes, wiues, fatherleſſe children, widowes, wofull mothers, with theire yonge babes, and theire whole houſhold ſtuffe in ſubiecte, and muche in bundle, as huſbandrye requireth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I ſay, out of theire knowen and acquainted houſes, fyndynge no place to reſte in. All theire houſholde ſtuffe, whiche is verye litle woorthe, thoughe it myghte well abyde the ſale; yet beynge ſodainely thruſt out, they be conſtrayned to ſell it for nothing or nought. And when they haue wandered abrode tyll that be ſpent, what can they then els doo but ſteale, and then iuſtly purchace to be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then alſo they be take in pitton as vagabounes, becauſe they go aboute & woorke not: whom no man wyl ſet a woorke, though thei neuer ſo willyngly proffre themſelues therto. For one Shepheard or Heardman is ynoughe to eate vp that grounde with

The decaye of huſbandry cauſeth beggery, which is the mother of vagabounes & theues.

cattell,

tattel, to the occupying wherof aboute husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this is also the cause why victuailes be now in many places dearer. Yea besides this the price of wolle is so ryen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by this meanes verye manye be forced to forsake worke, and to geue the selues to idelnesse. For after that so much grounde was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of sheepe dyed of the rotte, suche vengeaunce God toke of theire inordinate and vnsaciable couetousnes, sendinge amonge the sheepe that pestiferous morrein, whiche much more iustely shoulde haue fallen on the sheepemasters owne heades. And though the number of sheepe increase neuer so faste, yet the price falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe sellers. For they be almoofte all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to sell before they luste, and they luste not before they maye sell as deare as they luste. Now the same cause bring-

The cause of dearth of victuales.

What inconuenience cōmeth of dearth of wolle.

The cause of dearth of wol.

Dearth of cattel with the cauſe therof.

geth in like dearth of the other kinder of cattell, yea and that ſo much ꝑ more, becauſe that after fermes pluckt downe, and huſbandry decaied, there is no man that paſſethe for the bꝛeadynge of younge ſtooze. For theſe riche men bꝛynge not vp the pongrones of greate cattel as they do lambes. But firſt they ble them aboue verie cheape, and afterward when they be fatted in their paſtures, they ſell them agayne extreamye deare. And therefore (as I ſuppoſe) the whole incommoditie herof is not yet felte. For yet they make dearth onely in thoſe places, where they ſell. But whē they ſhall fetche them away frō thence wheare they be bꝛedde fatter then they can be bꝛoughte vpithen ſhall there alſo be felte greate dearth, ſtooze beginning there to fatle, where the ware is boughte. Thus the vnreaſonable couetoulnes of a few hath turned ꝑ thing to the vtter vndoing of your plande, in the whiche thynge the cheife felicitie of your realme dio conſiſt. For this greate dearth of victualles cauſech men to kepe as litle houſes, and as ſmale hoſpi-

Dearth of victuales is the decay of houſe keping, wherof enſueth beggery & theefte.

ta:

fulltie as they possible maye, and to put away theyr seruauntes: whether I pray you, but a beggynge or elles (whyche these gentell blouddes, and stoute stomackes, will sooner set their myndes vnto) a stealing? Nowe to amende the matter to this wretched beggerye, and miserable pouertie is ioyned greate wantonnes, impatiuante superfluitie, and excessiue riote. For not only gentle menues seruauntes, but also handecraftemen (yea and almoste the ploughmen of the countrey, with all other sortes of people) vse muche straunge and proude newefangelnes in theyr apparell, and to muche prodigall riotte, and sumptuous fare at theyr table.

Excelle in the pastell and diet a maintener of beggery and theefte.

Nowe bawdes, queanes, whoores, harlottes, strumpettes, brothelhouses, stewes, and yet an other stewes wynetauernes, ale houses, and tiplinge houses, with so manye noughtie, lewde, and vnlawfull games, as dyce, cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes, do not all these sende the haunters of them streyghte a stealynge, when theyr money is gone? Caste oute these perni-

Bawdes, whoores, wynetauernes, alehouses, and vnlawfull games be very mothers of theues.

cyous abhominations, make a lawe, that they, whiche pluckedowne fermes, and townes of huſbandrie, ſhal repedifie them, or elſe peiye, and yprender the poſſeſſion therof to ſuche, as wil go to the coſt of buylding them ageine.

Rich men ingrouers and foretallers.

Ouffer not theſe riche men to bie vp all to ingroſſe, and foreſtalle, and with their monopolie to kepe the market alone at pleaſe the. Let not ſo many be brought vp in idelnes, let huſbandrie and tillage be reſtored, let clothworkinge be renewed, that ther may be honeſt labours for this idell ſort to paſſe their tyme in profitablye, whiche hetherto either pouertie hath cauſed to be theues, or elles nowe be either vagabondes, or idel ferninge men, and ſhortelye wilde theues. Doubtles onles you finde a remedy for theſe enormities, you ſhall in vaine auaunce your ſelues of executing iuſtice vpon felons. For this iuſtice is more beautiful in apperaūce, & more glorious to the ſhewe, then either iuſte or profitable. For by ſuffering youre youthe wantonlie, and viciouſly to be broughte vp, and to be infected, euen frome their tens-

The corrupte education of youth a mother of cheuery.

tender age, by litle and litle with vice: then a goddes name to be punished, whe they commit the same faultes after being come to mans state, which frō their youthe they were euer like to do: In this pointe, I praye you, what other thing do you, then make theues, & then punish them? Now as I was thus speakinge, the Lawier began to make hym selfe readie to answere, and was determined with him selfe to vse the cōmon fashion, and trade of disputers, whiche be more diligent in reherſinge, then answering, as thinking the memorie worthy of the chief praise. In dede sir, quod he, you haue said wel, being but a straūger, and one that myghte rather heare some thing of these matters, then haue any exacte or perfecte knowledge of the same, as I wil incōtinent by ope proffe make manifest and plaine. For firſte I will reherſe in order all that you haue sayde: then I wyll declare wherein you be deceaued, through lacke of knowledge, in all oure fashions, maners & customes: and last of all I will answere youre argumentes, and confute them

Pe is worthelie put to ſlaūce that is to full of wordes.

euery one. Firſte therefore I wyll begynne where I promyſed. Foure thynges you ſemed to me. Holde youre peace, quod the Cardinall: for it appeareth that you will make no ſhorte aunſwere, which make ſuche a beginnynge. Wherefore at this time you ſhall not take the paynes to make youre aunſwere, but kepe it to youre nexte meatynge, whiche I woulde be right glad, that it might be euen to morrowe next, onles either you or maiſter Raphael haue any earneſt let. But nowe maiſter Raphael, I woulde verye gladlye heare of you, why you thinke theſe not worthye to be puniſhed with deathe, or what other puniſhemente you can deuiſe more expedient to the weale publique. For I am ſure you are not of that minde, that you woulde haue theſe eſcape vnpuniſhed. For yf nowe the extreme puniſhemente of deathe can not cauſe them to leaue ſtealinge, then yf ruffians and robbers ſhoulde be ſure of their lyues: what violence, what feare were hable to holde their handes from robbinge, whiche woulde take the mi-

tigati-

tigation of the punishmente, as a verye prouocation to the mischiefe? Surelye my lorde, quod I, I thinke it not ryght nor iustice, that ye losse of money should cause the losse of mans life. For myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are not able to counteruayle mans life. But if they would thus say: that the breakynge of iustice, & the transgression of the lawes is recompensed with this punishment, and not the losse of the money, then why maye not this extreme & rigorous iustice wel be called plaine iniurie? For so cruell gouernaunce, so streite rules, and vnmercyful lawes be not allowable, that if a small offense be committed, by and by the sword should be drawen: Nor so stoical ordinaunces are to be borne withall, as to counte al offenses of suche equalitie, that the killing of a man, or the takyng of his money frō him were both a matter and the one no more heinous offense then the other: betwene the whyche two, if we haue anye respecte to equitie, no similitude or equalitie consisteth. God commaundeth vs that

That theefte ought not to be punished by death.

Straite lawes not allowable.

ſtrongly and forcibly prouoked, and in a maner conſtreined to kill him, whome elſe he woulde haue but robbed. For the murder beynge ones done, he is in leſſe feare, and in more hoope that the deede ſhall not be bewrayed: or knowen, ſeynge the partye is nowe deade, and ryddе oute of the waye, whiche onelye mighte haue uttered and diſcloſed it. But if he chaunce to be taken & diſtreined, yet he is in no more daunger and ieoperdie, then if he had committed but ſingle felonye. Therfore whiles we go about with ſuche cruelitie to make theues afeard, we prouoke them to kil good men. Now as touchinge this queſtion, what puniſhemente were more commodious and better: that cruelye in my iudgemente is eaſier to be founde, then what puniſhment might be worſe. For why ſhould we doubt that to be a good and a profytable waye for the puniſhemente of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes paſte ſo longe pleaſe the Romaines, men in the adminiſtration of a weale publique moſte ernerte, politique, and cunnynge? Suche as a

What lawfull puniſhment may be deuiſed for theft.

monge

amonge them were conuicte of great and heynous trespaces, them they condemned into foure quarries, & into mienes to digge mettalle, there to be kepte in chaynes all the dayes of their life. But as concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaries of no nation so wel as ye which I sawe, whiles I trauailed aboute a-boute the worlde, vsed in Persia amõge the people that commenly be called the Polylerites, whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittelye gouerned, and the people in all condicions free and ruled by their owne lawes, sauinge that they paye a yearelye tribute to the great kinge of Persia. But bicause they be farre from the sea, compassed and inclosed almoste rounde aboute with hyghe mountaines, and do content them selues with the fruites of their owne lande, whiche is of it selfe verye fertile and fruitfull: for this cause neither they go to other countreis, nor other come to them. And accordynge to the olde custome of the land, they desire not to enlarge the bounders of their dominiõs: & those that they haue by reason of

Howe the Rom-mayns punished theefte.

A worthy and commendable punishment of theues in the weale publique of the Polylerites in Persia.

of the highe hilles be easely defended: the tribute whiche they paye to their chiefe lord and kinge, letteth them quite and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallante, & may better be called happie: or wolthy, then notable or famous. For they be not knowen aboue as by name, I suppose saue only to their next neighbours & borderers. They that in this lande be attrinted & convict of felony, make restitution of that which they stole, to the right owner: and not (as they do in other landes) to the kinge: whome they thinke to haue no more righte to the theftestolen thinge, than the thiefe him selfe hathe. But if the thing be lost or made away, then the value of it is paide of the goodes of such offenders, which els remaineth all whole to their wiues, and children. And they them selues be condemned to be common labourers, and, oneles the theefte be verie heinous, they be neyther locked in prison, nor fettered in giues, but be untied and go at large, labouring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or go slowly & slackly to their

A prince nipped for them that do otherwise.

Theues condemned to be comen labourers.

theire worke, be not onelye tied vnto theyr nes, but also pricked forward with feare. But beinge diligente aboute theyr worke they liue wout checke or rebuke. Euery nighte they be called in by name: and be lodged in theyr chambers. Wyth theire dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferente good, borne at the charges of the weale publike, bicause they be common seruauntes to the comme wealth. But their charges in all places of the lande is not borne alike. For in some partes that which is bestowed vpō the is gathered of almes. And thoughe that waye be vncertein, yet the people be so ful of mercy and pitie, that none is found more profitable or plentifull. In some places certein rōdes be appointed hereunto of the reuenewes wherof they be maintained. And in some places euerye man geueth a certein tribute for y same vse and purpose. Againe in some partes of the land these seruing men (for so be these damned persons called) do no common worke, but as euerye priuate man ordeth labourers, so he commeth into Seruing men.

the

the marbette place, and there hyre the some of them for meate and drinke, and a certeine limitted wages by the daye, somwhat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man. It is also lawfull for them to chastice the slouthe of these seruinge men with stripes. By this meanes they neuer lacke worke, and besides the gayninge of their meate and drinke, euery one of them bringeth vnto some thinge into the common treasourie. All and euery one of them be apparailed in one colloure. Their heades be not polled as ours, but rounded a lytle aboue the eares. And the typpe of the one eare is cut of. Euery one of them maye take meate and drinke of their frendes, and also a coate of their owne colloure: but to receiue money is deathe, aswell to the geuer, as to the receiuoure. And no lesse ieoperdie it is for a free man to receiue moneye of a seruinge manne for anye maner of cause: and lykewise for seruinge men to touche weapons. The seruinge men of euerye seuerall shire be distincte and knowen frome other by their seuerall and distincte badges:

whiche

whiche to rauie awaye is death: as it is also to be lene oute of the precincte of their owne shire, or to talke with a seruinge man of another shyre. And it is no lesse daunger to them, for to intende to runne awaye, then to do it in dede. And to conceal suche an enterprise in a seruinge man it is deathe, in a free man seruitude. To the contrarie parte, to him that openeth and vttereth suche counselles, be vttered large giftes: to a free man a great some of money, to a seruinge man fredome: and to them bothe forgeuenes and pardone of that they were of counsell in that pretence. So that it can neuer be so good for them to go forewarde in their euyll purpose, as by repentaunce to tourne backe. This is the lawe and order in this behalfe, as I haue shewed you, wherein what humanitie is vsed, howe large it is frome cruelitie, and howe commodyous it is, you do playnelye perceaue: For almuche as the ende of their wrath and punyshemente intendeth nothynge elles, but the destruction of vices, and sauynge of menne: wyth so slynge, and

An euell intēt esteemed as the dede.

The right ende and intent of punishement.

ordering

obeying them, that they can not chuſe but be good, and what harme ſo euer they did before, in the reſidewe of their life to make amendes for the ſame.

Moreouer it is ſo little feared, that they ſhoulde ſoſume againe to their vicious conditions, that wayefaringe men hyll for their ſauegarde chuſe them to their guydes before any other, in euery their chaunging and taking newe. For if they ſhould committe robbery, they haue nothinge aboute them meete for that purpoſe. They may touch no weapens: money founde aboute them ſhoulde betraie the robbery. They ſhoulde be no ſoner taken with the maner, but furthwith they ſhoulde be puniſhed. Neither they can haue any hope at all to ſhape awaye by flienge. For howe ſhould a man, that in no parte of his apparell is like other men, ſkape prouelie and vnknowen, onleſs he woulde runne awaye naked?

Howebeit ſo alſo flyinge he ſhoulde be diſcryued by the roundyng of his heade, and his eare marke. But it is a thinge to be doubted, that they will laye their heddes together, and conſpire againſt

the

the weale publique. No no I warrante you. For the seruyng men of one shire alone coulde neuer hoope to bringe to passe suche an enterprise, without solliciting, entysing, and allurynge the seruyngemen of manye other shires to take their partes. Whiche thinge is to them so impossible, that they maye not almuch as speake or talke togethers, or salute one an other. No it is not to be thoughte that they woulde make theyr owne counsellers and companions of their counsell in suche a matter, whiche they knowe well should be ieopardie to the concelation therof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener and detectour of the same. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them all hopeles or in dispaire to recouer againe his former estate of freedome, by humble obedience, by patiente sufferinge, and by geuing good tokens and likelyhoode of hymselfe, that he wyll euer after that, lyue like a trewe, and an honest man. For euerye yeare diuers of them be restored to their freedome: throughe the commendation of their patience. Whan

I had thus ſpoken, ſayinge moreouer that I coulde ſee no cauſe why this ordre might not be had in Englande with muche more profyte, then the Juſtice whiche the lawyer ſo highly prayſed: Naye, quod the lawier, this coulde neuer be ſo ſtably ſhed in Englande, but that it muſt neues bringe the weale publike into great ieoperdie and hazarde. And as he was thus ſayinge, he ſhaked his heade, and made a wrie mouthe, and ſo he helde his peace. And all that were there preſent, with one aſſent agreed to his ſayinge. Well, quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to iudge without a proffe, whether this ordre would do wel here or no. But when the ſentence of death is geuen, if than the kinge ſhould commaunde execution to be deferred & ſpared, and would proue this order and faſhion: takinge away the priuiliges of all ſanctuaries: if then the proffe ſhould declare the thinge to be good and profitable, thā it were wel done that it were ſtabliſhed: & ſo the condempned and reprieued perſons may aſwel & as iuſtly be put to death after this proffe, as when

they

they were first cast. Neither any ꝓperbe can in the meane space growe herof, yea, and me thynketh that these vagabounders may very wel be ordered after the same fashion, against whom we haue hitherto made so many lawes, and so litle preuailed, whē the Cardinall had thus saide, than euery man gaue greate praise to my sayinges, whiche a litle before they had disallowed. But moost of al was esteemed that which was spoken of vagabounders, bicause it was the cardinalles owne addition. I can not tell whether it were best to reherse the communicatiō that folowed, for it was not very fayr. But yet you shall heare it, for there was no euil in it, sauyng it pertained to the matter before saide. There chaūced to stād by a certein iesting parasite, or scoffer, which would seme to resemble & counterfeit ꝑ foole. But he did in such wise counterfeit, that he was almoste ꝙ very same in dede that he labored to represēt: he so studied w̄ wordes & sayinges brought furth so out of time and place to make sporte and moue laughter, that he himselfe was oftener laughed at thā

vag abonders.

The wauering iudgementes of flatterers.

his ſelfes were. Yet the fooliſhe fellowe brought out nowe and then ſuche indifferent and reaſonable ſtuffe, that he made the prouerbe true, which ſaieth: he that ſhooteth oft, at the laſt ſhal hit the marke. So that whē one of the company ſayd, that throughe my cōmunication a good order was founde for theues, & that the Cardinal alſo had wel prouided for vagabondes, ſo that only remained some good prouiſion to be made for them that throughe ſickneſs and age were fallen into pouertie, & were become ſo impotent and vnwelde, that they were not able to worke for their liuinge: Tuſhe (quod he) let me alone with them: you ſhall ſe me do well ynough with the. For I had rather then any good, that this kinde of people were driuen ſumwher oute of my ſight, they haue ſo ofte troubled me manye times & ofte, when they haue wyth theire lamentable teares begged money of me: and yet they coulde neuer to my mynde ſo tune their ſonge, that thereby they euer got of me one farthinge. For euer more the one of theſe two chaunced: either that I would not, or els that I coulde

Sicke, aged, impotent perſons and beggers.

I could not, because I had it not. Therfore now they be ware wise. For when they see me go by, because they will not lese their labour, they let me passe and saye not one worde to me. So they loke for nothinge of me, no more in good sothe no more, than yf I were a priest, or a monke. But I will make a lawe, that all these beggers shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shalbe made laye brethren, as they call thē, and the women nūnes. Herat the Cardinal smiled, and allowed it in iest, yea and all the residue in good earnest. But a certeine freare graduate in diuinitie, toke suche pleasure and delite in this ieste of priestes and monkes, that he also beynge elles a man of grisly and sterne grauitie, began merily and wantonlye to ieste and taunt. Naye, quod he, you shall not so be ridde and dispatched of beggers, oneles you make some prouision also for vs freers. Why, quod the iester, that is done alreadie, for my lord him selfe set a verye good order for you, whē he decreed that vagabōndes should be kept straite, and set to worke: for you

A cōmen prouerbe amonge beggers.

A merye talke betwene a Freere and a foole.

be the greateſt and verieſt vagabounder that be. This ieſt alſo, when they ſawe the Cardinall not diſpoſed it, euery mā toke it gladly, ſauyng onelye the Frear. For he (and that no maruelle) beynge thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, ſo fret, ſo fumed, and chafed at it, and was in ſuch a rage, that he could not refraine himſelfe frō chidinge, ſholding, railing, and reuiling. He called the fellow ribbalde, villaine, lauel, backbiter, ſclaunderer, and the childe of perdition: citinge therwith terrible threateninges out of holie Scripture. Then the ieſtynge ſcoffer beganne ſo playe the ſcoffer in deede, and verely he was good at it, for he could play a part in that play no man better. Patient youre ſelfe good maiſter Freare, quod he, and be not angrie, for ſcripture ſaieth: in youre patience you ſhall ſaue your ſoules. Then the Freare (for I will rehearſe his owne very woordes.) No gallous wretche, I am not angrie (quod he) or at the leaſte wiſe, I do not ſinne: for the Pſalmiſte ſaith, be you angrie, and ſinne not. Whē the Cardinal ſpake gentlye to the freare,

Talke qualified accordyng to the perſon that ſpeaketh.

and

and desired him to quiete himselfe.
No my lord, quod he, I speak not but of a good zeale as I oughte: for holye men had a good zeale. Wherefore it is sayd: the zeale of thy house hath eaten me. And it is songe in the church. The skorners of Helizeus, whiles he went vp into the house of God, felte the zeale of the bald, as peraduenture this skorning villaine ribaulde shall feele. You do it (quod the Cardinall) perchaunce of a good mynde and affection: but me thinketh you should do, I can not tell whether more holily, certes more wisely, yf you woulde not set youre witte to a fooles witte, and with a foole take in hande a foolishe contention. No forsoeth my lorde (quod he) I shoulde not do more wysely. For Salomon the wyse sayeth: Answere a foole accordinge to his folye, like as I do nowe, and do shew him the pit that he shall fall into, yf he take not hede. For if many skorners of Helizeus, whiche was but one bald man, felte the zeale of the balde, how muche more shall one skorner of many freares feele, amõge

whom be manye balde men? And we haue also the popes bulles, whereby all that mocke & skorne vs be excõmunicate, suspẽded, and acursed. The cardinal, seing that none ende would be made, sẽt awaie the iester by a preuy becke, & turned the cõmunicatiõ to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to heare his sueters, and so dimissed vs. Looke maister More wyth how longe & tedious a tale I haue kept you, whiche surely I woulde haue bene ashamed to haue done, but that you so earnestly desired me, and did after such a sorte geue eare vnto it, as though you would not that any parcel of that communication should be left out. whiche thoughe I haue done sumwhat briefely, yet could I not chuse but reherse it, for the iudgemente of them, whiche when they had improued and disallowed my sayinges, yet incontinent hearyng the Cardinall allowe them, and themselues also approue the same: so impudently flattering him, that they wer nothig ashamed to admitte, yea almoste in good earnest, his iesters foolish inuentions: bicause

cause that he him selfe by smiling at the did seme not to dispraise them. So that herby you may right wel perceaue how litle the courtiers would regarde and esteme me & my sayinges. I ensure you maister Raphael, quod I. I toke greate delectacion in hearing you: all thinges that you saide were spoken so wittily and so pleasauntly. And me thought me selfe to be in the meane time, not onely at home in my countrei, but also through the pleasaunt remembraunce of the Cardinal in whose house I was brought vp of a childe, to ware a child againe.

And frend Raphael, though I did beare verye greate loue towardes you before, yet seynge you do so earnestly fauoure this man, you wyll not beleue howe muche my loue towardes you is nowe increased. But yet, all this notwithstandinge, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I must nedes beleue, that you, if you be disposed, and can fynde in youre hearte to followe some Princes courte, shall with your good counselles greatlye helpe and further the commen wealthe, wherfore there is nothynge

more apperteining to youre dewty, that is to saye, to the dewtie of a good man. For where as your Plato iudgeth that weale publiques shall by this meanes attayne perfecte felicitie, eyther if Philosophers be kynges, or elles yf kynges geue themselues to the studie of Philosophie, howe farre I praye you, shall commen wealthes then be frome thys felicitie, yf Philosophers wyll vouchesaufe to enstruct kinges with their good counsell? They be not so vnkinde (quod he) but they woulde gladlye do it, yea, manye haue done it alreadye in bookes that they haue putfurthe, if kynges and princes would be willynge and readye to folowe good counsell. But Plato doubtlesse dyd well foresee, onelesse kynges themselues woulde applye their mindes to the studye of Philosophie, that elles they woulde neuer thoroughlye allowe the counsell of Philosophers, beynge themselues before euen from their tender age infected, and corrupt with peruerse, and euill opinions. Whiche thynge Plato hymselfe proued

trewe

frewe in kinge Dionyse. If I shoulde propose to any kyng wholsome decrees, doynge my endeuoure to plucke out of hys mynde the pernicious originall causes of vice and noughtines, thinke you not that I shoulde furthewith either be mocked awaye, or elles made a laughyng stocke? Well suppose I were with the Frenche kynge, and there syttinge in his counsell, whiles in that moofte secrete consultation, the kynge him selfe there beynge present in hys owne persone they beate their braynes, and serche the verye bottomes of their wittes to discusse by what crafte and meanes the kynge maye styl kepe Mylayne, and drawe to him againe fugitiue Naples, And then howe to conquere the Venetians, and howe to bringe vnder his iurisdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie: with diuers other landes, whose kingdomes he hath longe a go in mind and purpose inuaded. Here whiles one counselleth to conclude a league of peace with the Venetians, so longe

The Frenchemen priuilie be counceled from the desire of Italie.

to

to endure, as shall be thought meete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsell, yea, and besides that to geue them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they haue brought their purpose about after their owne myndes, they maye require and clayme againe. An other thinketh best to hiere the Germayneues. An other Lesse knyghtes. woulde haue the fauoure of the Swythers wonne with money. An others aduyse is to appeale the puissaunte power of the Emperoures maiestie with golde, as with a moste pleasaunte, and acceptable sacrifice. Whiles an other gyueth counsell to make peace with the kynge of Arragone, and to restoore vnto him his owne kyngedome of Nauarra, as a full assuraunce of peace. An other commeth in with his fiue egges, and aduiseth to hooke in the kynge of Castell with some hope of affinitie or allyaunce, and to bringe to their parte certeine Peeres of his courte for greate pensions. Whiles they all gape at the chiefeste doubte of all, what to do in the meane time with Englande, and yet

agree

agree all in this to make peace with the Englishmen, and with moste suer and stronge bandes to bynde that weake and feable frendeshippe, so that they muste be called frendes, and habde in suspicion as enemyes. And that therfore the Bhottes muste be habde in a readines, as it were in a standynge, readie at all occasions, to aunters the Englishmen shoulde starre never so lytle, incontinent to set vpon them. And moreouer priuilie and secretlye (for openlie it maye not be done by the truce that is taken) priuelie therefore I saye to make muche of some Piere of Englande, that is bannished hys countrey, whiche muste cleime title to the crowne of the realme, and affirme hym selfe sure inheritoure thereof, that by this subtill meanes they maye holde to them the kinge, in whome elles they haue but small trucke and affiaunce.

Here I saye, where so great and heyghe matters be in consultation, where so manye noble and wyse menne counsell theyr kynge onlie to warre, here yf I

 selye

selfe man shoulde rise vp and will them to tourne ouer the leafe, and learne a newe lesson, sayinge that my counsell is not to medle with Italy, but to tarye styll at home, and that the kyngedome of Fraunce alone is almoofte greater then that it maye well be gouerned of one man: so that the kynge shoulde not neede to studye howe to gette more: And then shoulde propose vnto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achorians, whiche be situate ouer agaynste the Ilande of Utopia on the southeaste side. These Achorians ones made warre in their kinges quarrell for to gette him another kingdome, whiche he laide claime vnto, and auaunced hymselfe ryghte inheritoure to the crowne thereof, by the tytle of an olde alliaunce. At the last when they had gotten it, and sawe that they hadde euen as muche vexation and trouble in keppynge it as they had in gettynge it, and that either their newe conquered subiectes by sundrye occasions were makynge dayly insurrections to rebell againste them, or els that other countreis were

A notable exãple, and worthy to be followed.

con

continuallie with diuers inrodes and
forragynges inuadynge them: so that
they were euer fighting either for the
or agaynste them, and neuer coulde
breake vp theyr campes: Beynge them
selues in the meane season pylled and
impouerished: their money caried oute
of the realme: their owne men killed to
maintaine the glorye of an other nati-
on: when they had no warre, peace no-
thynge better then warre, by reason
that their people in warre had so inured
themselues to corrupte and wicked ma-
ners: that they had taken a delite and
pleasure in robbinge and stealing: that
through manslaughter they had gathe-
red boldnes to mischiefe: that thier
lawes were had in contempte, and no-
thing set by or regarded: that their king
beynge troubled wyth the charge and
gouernaunce of two kingdomes, could
not nor was not hable perfectlie to dis-
charge his office towardes them both:
seing agaune that all these euelles and
troubles were endles: at the laste layde
their heades together, & like faithfull

louinge subiectes gaue to their kynge
free choise and libertie to kepe styll the
one of these two kingdomes whether he
would: allegynge that he was not able
to kepe both, and that they were mo the
might well be gouerned of halfe a kyng
forasmuche as no man woulde be con
tent to take him for his mulettour, that
kepeth an other mans mayles beside
his. So this good prince was constrey
ned to be content with his olde kynge
dome, and to geue ouer the newe to on
of his frendes; who shortelye after
was violentlie driuen out. Furthermor
it is to be declare vnto them, that all
this huste prepauacion to warre, wher
by so many nations for his sake should
be brought into a troublesome hurlie
burlie, when all his coffers were emp
tied, his treasures wasted, and his pro
pre destroied, should at the length throug
some mischaunce by him taine and to non
effect: and that therfore it were best for
him to content him selfe with his owne
kingedō of fraūce, as his forfathers and
predecessours did before him: to make
much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as

flou-

nouriſhyng as he could, to endeuoure
him ſelfe to loue his ſubiectes, & againe
to be beloued of thē, willingly to liue wt
thē, peaceably to gouerne thē, and with
other kyngdomes not to medle, ſeinge
that whiche he hath all redy is euen
ynoughe for hym, yea and more then
he can wel tourne hym to: this myne
noble mayſter ſayde, how thinke you
it would be harde and taken? No God
helpe me not very thankefully, quod
I, wel let vs procede then, quod he.
Suppoſe that ſome kyng and his coun-
ſel were together whettinge their wit-
tes and deuiſinge, what ſubtell crafte
they myght make to enryche the kinge
with greate treaſures of money. Firſt
one counſelleth to rayſe and enhaunce
the valuation of money when the kinge
muſt paye anye: and agayne to calle
downe the value of coyne to leſſe them
it is worthe, when he muſte receiue or
gather any. For thus greate ſommes
ſhalbe payde with a lytyl money, and
where lytle is due muche ſhalbe recei-
ued. An other counſelleth to fayne
warre, that when vnder this coloure &

Enhaunſyng and imbaſyng of coyne.

Counterfeyte warres.

pretence the kyng hath gathered greate abouudaunce of money, he maye, when it shall please him, make peace with greate solempnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and compassion forthe vpon mans blonde, lyke a louing and a mercifull prince.

The renewig of old lawes.

An other putteth the kynge in remembraunce of certeine olde and mouldie eaten lawes, that of longe tyme haue not bene put in execution, whych because no man can remembre that they were made, euerie man hath transgressed. The tyme of these lawes he counselleth the kynge to require: for there is no waye so profitable, nor more honorable, as the whyche hathe a shewe and coloure of iustice. An other counselleth him to forbidde manye thinges vnder greate penalties and fines, specially suche thinges as is for the peoples profit not be vsed, and afterwarde to dispence for money with the, whyche by this prohibition suffeyne losse and dammage. For by this meanes the fauour of the people is wonne, and profite

lite riseth two wayes. First by takinge
fortaytes of them wheme courtousnes
of gaynes hath brought in daunger of
this statute, and also by sellinge pri-
uileges and licences, whyche the bete-
ter that the prince is forlothe, the bet-
ter he selleth them: as one that is lothe
to graunte to any priuate persone anye
thinge that is againste the profitte of
his people. And therefore maye sel-
none but an exceding dere pryce. An-
other giueth the kynge counsel to en-
daunger vnto his grace the iudges of
the Realme, that he maye haue them
euer on his syde, that they maye in
euery matter dispute and reason for
the kynges right. Yea, further to call
them into his palace, to require them
there to argue, discusse his matters in
his owne presence. So there shalbe no
matter of his so openlye wronge and
vniuste, wherein ony of other of them,
either because he wyl haue sumthinge
to allege, obiecte or that he is ashamed
to saye that whiche is sayde alreadye,
or els to pike a thanke with his prince,
wil not fynde some hole open to set his

Selling of li-
cences.

ſmate in, wherewith to take the contra-
rie parte in a trippe. Thus whiles the
Iudges cannot agree amonges them
ſelfes, reaſoninge and arguinge of that
whych is playne enough, and bringinge
the manifeſt trewthe in dowte: in the
meane ſeaſon the Kinge maye take a fyt
occaſion to vnderſtād the lawe as wil
moſte make for his aduauntage, where-
vnto al other for ſhame, or for feare will
agree. Then the Iudges may be bolde
to pronounce on the kynges ſide. For he
that geueth ſentence for the king, cannot
be without a good excuſe. For it ſhalde
ſufficient for him to haue equitie on his
part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, or
a likelyhed & wiſhed vnderſtandinge of
the ſame (or els, whiche with good & iuſt
Iudges is of greater force then all la-
wes be) the Kynges indiſputable pre-
rogatiue. To conclude, al the counſel-
lours agree and conſent together with
the ryche Craſſus, that no abundāce of
gold can be ſufficiēt for a prince, whych
muſte kepe and mayntayne an armie:
furthermore that a kynge, thoughe he
would, can do nothinge vnluſtely. For

The ſaiyng of ryche Craſſus.

all

all that all men haue, yea also the men
thē selues be all his. And that euery man
hath so much of his owne, as ꝑ kynges
gentlenes hath not taken from hym.
And that it shalbe moste for the kinges
auauntage, that his subiectes haue bee-
ynge ryche or nothinge in their possession,
as whose sauegarde dothe herein con-
siste, that his people doe not ware wan-
ton and wealthie through riches and
libertie, because where these thinges
be, there men be not wonte patiently
to obeye harde, vniuste, and vnlawefull
commaundementes. Where as on the
other part neade & pouertie doth holde
downe and kepe vnder stowte courag-
es, and maketh them patient perforce,
takynge from them holde and rebel-
lynge stomakes. Here agayne if I
shoulde vpse vp, and boldelye affirme
that all these counselles be to the kinge
dishonoure and reproche, whose ho-
noure and saketye is more and rather
supported and vpholden by the wealth
and ryches of his people, then by hys
owne treasures: and if I should declare
that the cōmunaltie chuseth their king

for their owne ſake, & not for his ſake: to the intent, that through his labour and ſtudie they might al liue wealthily ſauffe from wronges and iniuries: and that therfore the kynge ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his owne wealthe, euen as the office and dewtie of a ſhepeheard is in that he is a ſhepherde, to feede his ſhepe rather then himſelfe. For as touchinge this, that they thinke the defence and maynteynaunce of peace to conſiſte in the pouertie of the people, the thing it ſelfe ſheweth that they be farre out of the waye. For where ſhal a man finde more wrangling, quarelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? who be more deſirous of newe mutations and alterations, then they that be not content with the preſent ſtate of their lyfe? Or finallye who be bolder ſtomaked to bringe all in a hurliburlye (therby truſtinge to get ſome winder ſal) then they that haue nowe nothinge to leeſe? And yf any Kyng were ſo finally regarded, and ſo lightly eſteemed, yea ſo behated of his ſubiectes, that

Pouertye the mother of debate & dearth of ſeaſinge.

other

other wayes he could not kepe them in awe, but onlye by open wronges, by polling and shauinge, and by bringinge them to beggerie. Lewerly it were better for him to forsake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes: whereby though the name of a king be kepte, yet the maiestie is lost. For it is againste the dignitie of a kynge to haue rule ouer beggers, but rather ouer ryche and welthie men. Of this mynde was the hardie & courageus Fabrice, when he sayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himselfe. And verelye one man to liue in pleasure and wealth, whyles all other wepe and smarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a iayler. To be shorte as he is a folyshe physition, that cannot cure his patientes disease, onles he take him in an other sickenes, so he that cannot amend the liues of his subiectes, but he taking from them the wealthe and cõmoditie of lyfe, he muste nedes graunte that he knoweth not the feate how to gouerne men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe,

A worthy saying of Fabrice

renounce vnhoneſt pleaſures, and forſake pride. For theſe be the chiefe vices that cauſe hym to runne in the contempte or hatred of his people. Let hym lyue of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him doe coſt not aboue his power. Let hym reſtreyne wyckednes. Let hym preuente vices, and take awaye the occaſions of offenſes by well ordeyninge hys ſubiectes, and not by ſuffeyninge wickednes to increaſe afterward to be punyſhed. Let hym not be to haſte in callynge agayne lawes, whyche a cuſtome hathe abrogated: ſpecially ſuche as haue bene longe forgotten, and neuer lacked nor neaded. And let hym neuer vnder the cloke and pretence of tranſgreſſion take ſuche fynes and forfaytes, as no Judge wyll ſuffre a priuate perſone to take, as vniuſte & full of gile. Here if I ſhould bryng forth before them the lawe of the Macariens, whiche be not farre diſtaunt from Vtopia: whoſe kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a ſolempne othe, that he ſhall neuer at anye tyme haue in hys treaſure aboue a thou-

A ſtraunge and notable lawe of the Macariens.

ſaunde

lande pounde of golde or syluer. They saye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealthe & commodytye of his countrey, then for therychyng of him selfe, made this lawe to be a stop and a barre to kinges from heaping and hoardyng vp so muche money as might impouerysshe their people. For he forsawe that this som of treasure wouldē suffice to supporte the kynge in battaile against his owne people, if they shoulde chaunce to rebell: and also to maintein his warres againste the inuasions of his forrayn enemies. Againe he perceiued the same stocke of money to be to litle and vnsufficient to encourage and enhable him wrongfully to take away other mens goodes: whyche was the chiefe cause whie the lawe was made. An other cause was this. He thought that by this prouisiō his people shoulde not lacke money, wherewith to mayntayne their dayly occupeing and chaffayre. And seynge the kynge could not chewse but laye out and bestowe al that came in aboue the prescript some of his stocke, he thought he wouldē

seke

seke no occasions to doe his subiectes iniurie. Suche a kynge shalbe feared of euel men, and loued of good men.

These, and suche other informations, yf I shoulde vse among men wholye inclined and geuen to the contrarye part, how deafe heaters thinke you I should haue? Deafe hearers doubtles (quod I) And in good faith no maruayle. And to be plaine with you, truelye I can not allowe that suche communication shalbe vsed, or suche counsell geuen, as you be sure shall neuer be regarded nor receaued. For howe can so straunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beate into their heades, whose myndes be allredye preuented with cleane contrarye perswasions? This schole philosophie is not vsyed amonge freendes in familiare communication, but in the counsailes of kinges, where greate matters be debated and reasoned with greate authoritye, these thinges haue no place. That is it whiche I mente (quod he) when I sayde philosophye hadde no place amonge kinges. In deede (quod I) this schole philosophie

Schole philosophye in the consultations of Princes hath no place.

sophie hath not: whiche thinketh all
thinges mete for euery place. But there
is an other philosophye more ciuile,
whyche knoweth, as ye wolde say, her
owne stage, and thereafter orderyng
and behauinge herselfe in the playe
that she hathe in hande, playethe her
parte accordingelye with comlynes,
vttering nothinge oute of dewe or-
dre and fashyon. And this is the
philosophye that you muste vse. Or
els whyles a commodye of Plautus
is playinge, and the byle bondemen
shoffynge and tryckelinge amonge
them selfes, yf you shoulde sodenlye
come vpon the stage in a Philosophers
apparrell, and reherse oute of Octa-
uia the place wherein Seneca disputeth
with Nero: had it not bene better for
you to haue played the domme per-
sone, then by rehersynge that, whych
serued neither for the tyme nor place
to haue, made suche a tragycall come-
dye or gallymalfreye? For by bryn-
gynge in other stuffe that nothinge ap-
pertaynethe to the presente matter, you
muste nedes marre and peruert the playe

A like and a fitte similitude.

A dūme player

that

that is in hand, thoughe the stuffe that you bringe be muche better. Whatsoeuer parte soeuer you haue taken vpon you, playe that aswel as you can and make the best of it: And doe not therefore disturbe and bringe out of ordre the whole matter, because that an other. whyche is meryer and better commethe to your remembraunce. So the case standeth in a common wealthe, and so it is in the consultations of Kynges and pryuces, yf euel opintons and noughty persuasions can not be vtterly and quyte plucked out of their hartes, if you can not euen as you wolde remedy vices, which vse and custome hath confirmed, yet for this cause you must not leaue and forsake the common wealthe: you must not forsake the shippe in a tempeste, because you can not rule and kepe downe the wyndes. No nor you muste not laboure to dryue into their heades newe and straunge informations, whyche you knowe wel shalbe nothinge regarded wyth them that be of cleane contrary myndes. But you must with a crafty wile and a subteil trayne studye and endeuoure

gouernoure poure selfe, almuche as in you lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye and handesomelye for the purpose, and that wherin you can not turne to good, so to order it that it be not verye badde. For it is not possible for al thinges to be well, onles all men were good, which I thinke wil not be yet this many yeares. By this meanes (quod he) nothing elles wyl be brought to passe, but whyles that I goe about to remedye the madnes of others, I should be euen as madde as they. For if I wolde speake thinges that be true I muste needes speake suche thinges: but as for to speake false thinges, whether that be a philosophers parte or no I can not tel, truelye it is not my part. Howbeit this communicatio of mine, thoughe peraduenture it maye seme unpleasaunte to them, yet can I not see why it should seme straunge, or selthe set bestangled. If so be that I should speake those thinges that Plato sayethe in his weale publique: or that the Utopians doe in theires, these thinges thoughe they were (as they be in deede) better

The Utopis weale publique.

better, yet they myghte seme spoken
oute of place. Forasmuche as here a-
monges vs, euerye man hathe his pos-
sessions seuerall to him selfe, and then
all thinges be common. But what
was in my communication contepned,
that myghte not, and oughte not in any
place to be spoken? Sayynge that to
them whyche haue throughlye decreed
and determined with them selfes to re-
ne heedlouges the contrary waye it can-
not be acceptable and pleasaunt, becaus
it calleth them backe and sheweth them
the ieopardies, Wherbye of all thinges
that ryche & vitiouse maners haue can-
sed to seme inconuenientes and noughte
should be refused as thinges vnmete &
reprochefull, thó we must among Chri-
sten people wynke at the moste parte
of al those thinges, whyche Christ taught
vs, and so streytlye forbad thé to be wink-
ed at, ỳ those thinges also whiche he
whispered in ỳ eares of his disciples he
comaūded to be proclaimed in opē hou-
ses. And yet ỳ moste parte of thé is more
dissident from the maners of the worlde
nowe a dayes, then my communicati-
on

as thus. But preachers flie & wilie men
folowynge poure counsel (as I sup-
pose) bicause they saw men euel willing
to forsake their maners to Christes rule,
they haue wrested and writhe his
doctryne, and like a rule of leade haue
applied it to mennes maners, that
by some meanes at the leaste ware,
they might agree together. Wherby
I can not see what good they haue wo-
ne: but that men may more slekerlye be
euell. And I truelye shoulde preuaile e-
uen as litle in kinges counselles. For
either I muste laye otherwayes then
they laye, and then I were as good to
laye nothynge, or els I muste laye the
same that they laye, and (as Vtopia
saieth in Terence) helpe to further theim
maddes. For that craftye wyle, and sub-
tile reasone of yours, I can not perceaue
to what purpose it serueth, wherewith
you wolde haue me to studye and endea-
youre my selfe, if all thinges can not
be made good, yet to handle them wit-
tily and handsomely for the purpose, so
as farre forth as is possible, they may
not be very euel. For there is no place

to

to dissemble in, nor to wincke in. Amongst the counsellers muste be openly allowed and verye pestilent decrees muste be approued. He shalbe counted worse then a tyrye, yea almoste as cruel as a tyraunte, that with a sayne haste bringe peaceable and wholesome decrees. Moreouer a man cannot haue no occasion to doe good, chaunginge into the companye of them, whych wyll rather peruerte a good man, then he make good them selues: thoughe whole cruel company he shalbe marred, or els if he remayne good and innocente, yet the wickednes and folye of others shalbe imputed to hym, and layde in his necke. So that it is impossible with that traitye wyght, a subtil tyraunte to chaunge thinge to better. As herefore wisely by a goodlye similitude declareth, why wise men refraine to medle in the common wealthe. For when they see the people swarme into the streetes, & bathe wet to the skinne with rayne, and yet can not perswade them to goe out of the rayne, and to take their houses knowynge wel, that if they should goe out to the, they should

 nothinge

nothinge preuayle, nor wynne ought by it, but with them be wotte also in the same, they do kepe them selues within their boules, beinge contente that they be saue them selues, seinge they cannot remoue the tollye of the people. Nowe be it, doubtlesse manner Moze (to speke truelye as my mynde geueth me) where possessions be priuate, where money beareth all the stroke, it is harde and almoste impossible that there the weale publique maye iustlye be gouerned, and prosperoustye flozyshe. Vnles you thinke thus: that Justyce is there executed, where all thinges come into the handes of euell men, or that prosperitye there flozyssheth, where all is deuided amonge a fewe: whyche fewe neuertheles doe not leade their liues verye wealthelye, and the reste lyue myserablye, wretchedlye, and beggerlye. Wherefoze when I consyder with my selfe and weye in my mynde the wyse, and godlye ordinaunces of the Vtopians, amonge whome with verye fewe lawes all thinges be so wel and wealthelye ordered, that ver-

tue is had in price and estimation, and yet all thinges beinge there common, euerye man hath aboundaunce of euerye thinge. Against on the other part, when I compare with them so manye nations euer makinge newe lawes, yet none of them all well and sufficientlye, furnished with lawes: where euerye man calleth that he hathe gotten, his owne proper and priuate goodes, where so many newe lawes daylye made be not sufficience for euerye man to enioye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that whych he calleth his owne: whych thinge the infinite controuersies in the lawe, daylye eyleuge, neuer to be ended, playnly declare to be treewe. These thinges (I say) when I consider with me selfe, I holde wel with Plato. and nor pondringe marueille, that he would make no lawes for them, that refused those lawes, whereby all men should haue and enioye equall portions of welthes and commodities. For the wise man did easely foresee, this to bee the one and onlye waye to the wealthe of a communaltye, yf equalitye of all thinges

Plato wylled al thinges in a common wealth to be common.

thinges should be brought in and stablyshed. Wherche I thinke is not possible to be obserued, where euerye mans goodes be proper & peculiare to himselfe. For where euerye man vnder crafty pretences and pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe as much as he can, so that a fewe deuide among them selfes all the whole richesse, be there neuer so muche abundaunce and store, there to the residewe is lefte lacke and pouertye. And for the moste parte it chaunceth, that this latter sorte is more worthye to enioye that state of wealth, then the other bycause the ryche men be couetous, craftye, and vnprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, simple, and by theire dayly labour more profitable to the common welthe then to them selfes. Thus I doe fully persuade me selfe, that no equall and iuste distributiō of thinges can be made, nor that perfecte wealthe shall euer be among me, onles this propriety be exiled & banished. But so long as it shal cōtinew, so lōg shal remaine amōg the most & best part of men the heuy, and inrurta-

ble burden of pouerty and wretchednes
whiche, as I graunte that it maye be
sumwhat eased, so I vtterly denye that
it can wholy be take away. For if there
were a statute made, that no man should
possesse aboue a certeine measure of
grounde, and that no man shoulde haue
in his stocke aboue a prescripte and ap-
pointed some of money: if it were by
certein lawes decreed, that neither the
Kinge shoulde be of to greate power,
neither the people to haute & wealthy,
and that offices shoulde not be obtei-
ned by inordinate suite, or by brybes and
gyftes: that they shoulde neither be
bought nor sold, nor that it shoulde be
nedeful for the officers to be at any cost
or charge in their offices: for so occasi-
on is geuen to them by fraude and
rauin to gather vp their money againe,
and by reason of giftes & bribes the offi-
cers be geuen to rich men, whiche shoulde
rather haue bene executed of wise men:
by such lawes I say, like as sicke bodies
that be desperat & past cure, be wont wt
continual good cherissing to be kept and
botched vp for a time: so these euels also
might

might be lightened & mitigated. But ꝙ
thei may be perfectly cured, & brought to
a good and vpright state, it is not to be
hoped for, whiles euery mā is maister of
his owne to him selfe. Yea and whyles
you goe aboute to doe youre cure of one
parte, you shall make bygger the sore
of an other parte, so the healpe of one
causeth anothers harme: forasmuche
as nothinge can be geuen to anuye
one, onles it be taken from an other.
But I am of a contrary opinion(quod
I)for me thinketh that men shal neuer
there liue wealthelye, where all thin-
ges be common. For howe can there be
abundaunce of goodes, or of any thing,
where euery mā withdraweth his hāde
frō labour? whome the regarde of his
owne gaines driueth not to worke, but
the hope that he hath in other mēs tra-
uayles maketh him slouthfull. Then
when they be pricked with pouertye,
and yet no mā can by any lawe or right
defend that for his owne, whych he hathe
gotten with the laboure of his owne
handes, shal not there of necessitie be cō
tinual sedition & bloodeshed? Specially

the authoritye and reuerence of magistrates beinge taken awaye, whiche, what place it maye haue with such men amonge whome is no differences I cannot deuise. I marueil not (quod he) that you be of this opinio. For you conceaue in youre minde either none at all, or els a verye false Image and similitude of this thing. But yf you had bene with me in Vtopia, and had presentelye sene their fashions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche liued there .v. yeares, and moore, and wolde neuer haue commen thence, but onlye to make that new lande knowen here: Then doubtles you wolde graunte, that you neuer sawe people well ordered, but onlye there. Surelye (quod maister Peter) it shalbe harde for you to make me beleue, that there is better order in that newe lande, then is here in these countreyes, that we knowe. For good wittes be alwei here as there: and I thinke oure commen weales be auncienter than theires: wherin long vse and experience hath found out many thinges commodious for maunes lyfe, besides that manye thinges brare

amonge

amonge vs haue bene founde by chaunce, which no wytte colde euer haue deuysed. As touchynge the auncientnes (quod he) of common wealthes, that you might better iudge, if you had red the hystories and cronicles of that lande, which if we may beleue, cities were there, before men were here. Nowe what thinge soeuer hetherto by wytte hath bene deuised, or found by chaunce, that myght be almest there as here. But I thinke verily, though it were so that we dyd passe them in wytte: yet in study, in trauaile, & in labourisome endeuoure they farre passe vs. For (as theire Chronicles testifie) before our arriual there, they neuer harde any thing of vs, whome they cal the vltraequinoctialles: sauing that ones about. M. CC. yeares ago, a certeine shyppe was lost by the Ile of Utopia whiche was driuen thether by tempest. Certeine Romaines & Egyptians were cast on lande. Whyche after that neuer wente thence. Marke nowe what profite they tooke of this one occasion through dylygence and eare nesse trauaile. There was no craft nor scy-

ences within the empire of Rome wher-
of any profite could rise, but they either
lerned it of these straungers, or els of
them taking occasion to searche for it,
founde it oute. So greate profite was
it to them that euer anye wente thy-
ther from hence. But yf anye like
chaunce before this hath brought anye
man from thence hether, that is as
quyte out of remembraunce, as this al-
so perchaunce in time to come shalbe
forgotten, that euer I was there. And
like as they quickelye, almoste at the
first meting, made theire owne, what so-
euer is amonge vs wealthelye deuised:
so I suppose it wolde be long before we
wolde receaue anythinge, that amonge
them is better instituted then amonge
vs. And this I suppose is the chiefe
cause why e theire common wealthes
be wyselyer gouerned, and do flow-
rish in more wealthe, then ours, though
we neither in wytte nor riches be their
inferiours. Wherefore gentle Maister
Raphael (quod I) I praye you and be-
seche you describe vnto vs the Iland.
And study not to be shorte: but declare
largely

largely in order their grounds, their riuers, their cities, their people, their manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, and to be short al thinges, that you that thinke vs desierous to knowe. And you that thinke vs desierous to know what soeuer we knowe not yet. There is nothing (quod he) that I will doe gladlier. For all these thinges I haue freshe in mind. But ỹ matter requireth leasure. Let vs go in therfore (quod I) to dinner, afterward we will bestowe the time at our pleasure. Content (quod he) be it. So we went in and dyned. Whē dinner was done, we came into the same place again, & sate vs downe vpon the same benche, commaunding oure seruauntes that no man should trouble vs. Then I and Maister Peter Giles desiered maister Raphael to performe his promise. He therefore seing vs desirous & willing to harken to him, when he had sit stil and pauſed a litle while, musing and bethinkinge himselfe, thus he began to speake.

The end of the Firste boke.

The

The seconde

boke of the cõmunication of Raphael Hythlodaye, concerninge the best state of a commō weale: the contepninge the discription of Utopia, with a large declaration of the polite the gouernement, and of all the good lawes and ordres of the same Iland.

The site and fashion of the newe plande Utopia.

The Iland of Utopia, contepneth in breadthe in the middel parte of it (for there it is broadest) CC. miles, wyche breadthe continueth throughe the moste parte of the lande. Sauing that by litle and litle it commeth in, and wareth narrower towardes both the endes, wyche fetching about a circuite or compasse of CCC. miles, do fashion ꝑ whole Iland like to ꝑ newmone. Betweene these two corners the sea runneth in, dividyng them

them a lyttel by the distaūce of .xi. miles or there aboutes, & there surmounteth into a large & wyde sea, which by reaso that the land on euery syde cōpasseth it about, and shutteth it fro the windes, is not rough, nor mounteth not with great waues, but almost floweth quietly, not muche vnlike a greate standyng poole: & maketh welnegh all the space within the bellye of the lande in maner of a hauen and to the greate commoditie of the inhabitauntes receaueth in shippes towardes euerye parte of the lande. The forefrontes of frontiers of the .ij. comers, what with fourdes and shelues, and what with rockes be perye ryperyous & daungerous. In the middle distaūce betweene them bothe standeth vp aboue the water a great rocke, which therfore is nothing perilous by cause it is in sight. Vpō the top of this rocke is a faire & a strōg tower buildyed, which they holde with a garrison of men. Other rockes there be lyinge hydde vnder the water, which therfore be daūgerous. The channelles be knowen onely to themselues. And therfore it seldome

A place naturally fenced no nede but one garrison.

chaunceth

chaunceth that anye straunger onelesse he be guided by an Utopian can come in to this hauen. In so muche that they theselues could scarcelye entre without ieopardie, but that theire way is directes & ruled by certaine lande markes standing on the shore. By turninge, transplatinge, & remouinge thies markes into other places they maye destroye theire enemies nauies, be they neuer so many. The out side or vtter circuite of ỹ land is also ful of hauens, but the landing is so surely fenced, what by nature, & what by workemanshyp of mans hand, that a fewe defenders maye dispue backe many armies. Howbeit as they saye, and as the fashion of the place it selfe doth partely shewe, it was not euer compassed about with the sea. But kyng Utopus, whose name, as conquerour the Iland beareth (For before his tyme it was called Abrara) which also broughte the rude & wild people to that excellet perfection in al good fashions, humanitye, & ciuile gentilnes, wherin they nowe go beyond al ỹ people of the world: euē at his firste arriuinge and enteringe vpon the

A politique deuise in the chaunging of land marches.

The Iland of Utopia so named of king Utopus.

the lande, furthwith obteynynge the victory, caused.xv. myles space of vplandysshe grounde, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and digged vp. And so brought the sea rounde about the lande. He set to this worke not only the inhabitauntes of the Ilande (because they should not thinke it done in contumelye and despyte) but also all his owne soldiours. Thus the worke beyng diuided into so greate a numbre of workemen, was with exceadinge marueilous spede dyspatched. In so muche that the borderers, whiche at the firste began to mocke, and to iest at this vaine enterpryse, then turned their derision to marueyle at the successe, and to feare. There be in the Ilande. liiii. large and faire cities, or shiere townes, agreyng all together in one tonge, in lyke maners, institucions, and lawes. They be all set and situate alyke, and in al poynte fashioned alyke, as farforthe as the place or plotte suffereth.

Many handes make light worke.

Cities in Utopia.

Similitude causeth concorde.

Of these cities they that be nighest together be, xxiiii. myles asonder. Againe there is none of them distaunte from the

A meane diuisaunce betwene citie and citie.

next

nerte aboue one dayes iorneye a sonder. There rome yearly to Amaurote out of euery cytie.iij. olde men wyse and well experienced, there to entreate and debate, of the commō matters of the land. For this cytie (because it standeth iuste in the myddes of the Ilande, and is therefore moste mete for the ambassadours of all partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade cytye. The meerēctes and boundes of the shyres be so commodiously appointed out, and set fourthe for the cities, that none of them all hathe of anye syde lesse then xx. myles of grounde, and of some syde also muche more, as of that part where the cities be of farther distaunce a sonder. None of the cities desire to enlarge the boundes & limites of theire shires. For they counte them selues rather the good husbandes, then the owners of theire landes. They haue in the countrey in all partes of the shyere houses of fermes buylded, wel appointed and furnyshed with all sortes of instrumentes and tooles belongynge to husbandrye. These houses be inhabited of the citi-

The distribution of landes

But this noweadaies is the grounde of all mischefe.

Husbandrye & tillage chefely & principally regarded and aduaunced.

gens, whyche come thether to dwelle by course. No howsholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then.xl. persones men and woms, besydes two bondmen, whyche be all vnder the rule and order of the good man, & the good wyfe of the house, beinge bothe verye sage, discrete, and auncient persones. And euery.xxx. fermes or families haue one heade ruler, whyche is called a Philarche, being as it were a head bayliffe. But of euery one of these families or fermes commeth euerye yeare into the citie.xx. persones whiche haue continewed .v. yeres before in the countreye. In their place so manye freshe be sent thether oute of the citie, whose, of them that haue bene there a yeare all readye, and be therefore expert and conninge in husbandry, shalbe instructed & taughte. And they the nexte yeare shall teache other. This order is vsed for feare that either skarsenes of victualles, or some other like incõmoditie should chaunce, throughe lacke of knowledge: yf they should be altogether newe, and freshe, & vnexperte in husbandrie. This maner

and

and fallion of yearelye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of husbandrye, though it be solempne & customable vsed, to thintent that no man shall be constrayned against his will to continewe longe in that harde and sharpe kynde of lyfe, yet manye of them haue suche a pleasure and delyte in husbandrye, that they obteyne a longer space of yeares. These husbandmen plowe and till the ground, and bringe vp cattell, & prouide & make ready wooode, whyche they carrye to the citie either by lande, or by water, as they maye moste conueniently. They bringe vp a greate multitude of pulleyne, and that by a meruayloule policye. For the hennes doo not lyte vpon the egges: but by keepynge theym in a certayne equall heate they bringe lyfe into theim, and hatche theym. The chyckens, assone as they be come oute of the shell, followe men and women in steade of the hennes. They bringe vp verye fewe horses: nor nolde, but very scarce ones: and that for none other vse or purpose, but onlye to exercyse theire youthe in ryddynge,

The dueties of men of husbandrye.

A straunge fashion in hatchinge and bringing vp of pulleyne.

The vse of horses.

and

feates of armes. For oxen be put to all the labour of plowyng and tyllage. Which they graunte to be nat so good as horses at a sodeyne brunte, and (as we saye) at a heade like, but yet they holde opinion, that oxen will abide and suffre muche more labour, payne and hardnes, then horses wil. And they thinke that oxen be not in daunger and subiect vnto so many diseases, and that they be kepte & maintained with muche lesse coste and charge: and finally, that they be good for meate, when they be past labour. They sowe corne onelye for breade. For their drinke is eyther wyne made of grapes, or els of apples, or peares, or els it is clere water. And many times meathe made of honey or licouresse sodde in water, for thereof they haue great store. And though they knowe certeynlie (for they knowe it perfectly in deede) howe muche vitailes the citie wyth the whole countreye or shiere rounde aboute it doeth spende: yet they sowe muche more corne, and breed vp muche more cattell, then serueth for their owne vse, partynge the

The vse of Oxen

Bread & drinke.

A great discretion in sowing of corne.

ouerplus amõg their borderers, whatsoeuer necessarie thinges be lacking in the countrey all suche stuffe they fetch out of the citie: where without any exchaunge they easelye obteyne it of the magistrates of the citie. For euery moneth manie of them go into the citie on the holy daye. When they haruest day draweth neare, and is at hande, the Philarches, which be the head officers and bailifes of husbandrie, sende woorde to the magistrates of the citie what nũbre of haruest men is needfull to be sente to them oute of the citie. The whiche companye of haruestmen beynge readye at the daye appoynted almoste in euerye laye daye dispatcheth all the haruest woorke.

Mutual helpe quickely dispatcheth.

De

Of the cities and namely of Amaurote.

As for their cities, who so knoweth one of them, knoweth they all: they be all so like one to an other, as far forth as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe therefore to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not greatly which: but which rather than Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthiest and of most dignitie. For the residue knowledge it for the head citie, because there is the counsell house. Nor to me any of them all is better beloued, as wherin I lined fiue whole yeares together. The citie of Amaurote standeth vpon the side of a lowe hill in fashion almost foure square. For the breadth of it beginneth a litle beneth the toppe of

The description of Amaurote the chiefe Citie in Utopia.

the hill, and still continueth by ye space of two miles, vntill it come to the ryuer of Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the ryuers syde, is somwhat more. The riuer of Anyder riseth foure and twentie myles aboue Amaurote out of a litle springe. But beyng increased by other smale riuers and brookes that runne into it, and amonge other two somwhat byggers, before the citie it is halfe a mile broade, and farther broader. And foure myles beyonde the citie it falleth into the Ocean sea. By all that space that lieth betwene the sea and the citie, and certen myles also aboue the citie the water ebbeth & floweth sixe houres together with a swifte tide. When the sea floweth in, for the length of thirtie miles it filleth all the Anyder with salte water, and driueth backe the fresh water of the ryuer. And somwhat further it chaungeth the sweetenes of the fresh water with saltnes. But a litle beyonde that the ryuer wareth swete, and runneth forby the citie fresh and pleasaunt. And when the sea ebbeth, and goeth backe againe,

The discriptiō of the riuer of Anyder.

The verie like in England in the riuer of Thamys.

the

the freshe water foloweth it almoste euen to the verie sal into the sea. They goeth a bridge ouer the riuer made not of piles or of timbre, but of stone worke with gorgious and sumptuous arches at that parte of the citie that is farthest from the sea: to the intent that shippes maye passe alonge forbie all the side of the citie without let. They haue also an other riuer which in deede is not verie great. But it runneth gentely and pleasauntly. For it ryseth euen out of the same hill that the citie standeth vpon, and runneth downe a slope through the middes of the citie into Anyder. And because it vseth a litle without the citie, the Amaurotians haue inclosed the head springe of it, with stronge fences and bulwarkes, and so haue ioyned it to the citie. This is done to the intente that the waters shoulde not be stopped, nor turned awaye, or poysoned, if their enemies shoulde chaunce to come vpon them. From thence the water is deuided and conueied downe in pypes of bricke diuers wayes into the lower partes of the citie. Where that cannot

Wherein also Doeth London agree with Amaurote.

The vse of freshe waters.

be done, by reason that the place will not suffer it, there they gather ꝑ raine water in great cisternes, whiche doeth them as good seruice. The citie is compassed aboute with a beighe and thicke stone walle full of turrettes and bulwarkes. A dzie diche, but deape, & broade, and ouergrowen with bushes, briers, and thornes, goeth aboute thzie sides or quarters of the city. To the fourth side the riuer it selfe serueth for a ditche.

The defence of towne walles.

Stretes.

The stretes be appointed and set furth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage, and also againste the windes. The houses be of faire and gorgious building, and on the streete side they stande ioyned togethee in a long rowe throughe the whole streate without any partition or separation. The stretes be twentie foote broade. On the backe side of the houses throughe the whole legth of the streete, ipe large gardens inclosed rounde aboute wyth the backe part of the streetes. Euerye house hathe two dooies, one into the streete, and a posterne doore on the backeside into the garden. These dooies be made

Buildinges ꝑ houses.

To euery dwelling house a garden plotte adioyninge.

with

with two leaues, neuer locked nor bolted, to call to be opened, that they will followe the least mawing of a tynger, and shutte againe alone: Whoso will, may go in, for there is nothinge within the houses that is priuate, or anie mans owne. And euery tenth yeare they chaunge their houses by lot. They set great store by their gardens. In them they haue vineyardes, all maner of fruite, herbes, and flowres, so pleasaunt, so well furnished, and so finely kepte, that I neuer sawe nothinge more frutefull, nor better trimmed in anye place. Their frute and diligence herein commeth not onely of pleasure, but also of a certen strife and contention that is betwene streete and streete, concerning the trimming, husbandinge and furnishinge of their gardens: euerye man for his owne parte. And verelye you shall not lightelye finde in all the citie anye thinge, that is more commodious, eyther for the profite of the citizens, or for pleasure. And therfore it maye seme that the first founder of the citie mynded nothinge so much, as their gardens.

This geere smelleth of Plato his communitie.

The commoditie of gardens is commended also of Vergile

For they saye that kinge Utopus him selfe, euen at the first beginning appoynted, and drewe furth the platte fourme of the citie into this fashion and figure that it hath nowe, but the gallant garnishinge, and the beautifull settinge furth of it, whereunto he sawe that one mannes age would not suffice: that he left to his posteritie. For their cronicles, whiche they kepe written with all deligente circumspection, conteinynge the historie of M. viii. C. lx. yeares, ful from the firste conquest of the Ilande, recorde and witnesse that the houses in the beginning were very low, and like homely cottages or poore shepparde houses, made at all aduentures of euery rude piece of timber, that came furste to hande, with mudde walles, and rogen roofes, thatched ouer with strawe. But nowe the houses be curiously buylded after a gorgious and gallante sorte, with three storyes one ouer another. The walles of the townes be made either of harde flynte, or of plaster, or els of bricke, and the inner sydes be well strengthened with timber worke.

The rooffes be plaine & flat, couered wt a certen kinde of plaster, that is of no coste, and yet so tempered that no fyre can hurt or perishe it, and withstandeth the violence of the wether better then any lead. They kepe the winde oute of their windowes with glasse, for it is ther much vsed, and somtyme also with fine linnen cloth dressed in ople oil, and that for two commodities.

Blased or cunnated wyndowes.

For by this meanes more light commeth in, and the winde is better kepte oute.

Of the magistrates.

Euery thirtie families or farmes, chuse them yerely an officer, which in their olde language is called the Syphogrant, & by a newer name the Philarche. Euery ten Syphograntes, with al their thirtie families, be vnder an officer, whiche was ones called the Tranibore, nowe the chiefe

A tranibore the Archpriest.

Songe signifieth a head or chiefe peere.

Unnaturelong straunge fashion in chaunge magistrates.

Philarche. Moreouer as touchinge the election of the Prince, all the Demographaunces, which be in number 100. shall be choone to chuese, that whom they thinke meete and expedient. Then of a certeine election, they name prince one of those, by whome the people before named vnto them. For out of the nine quarters of the citie there be fiue choten, out of euery quarter one, to gaine for the election: which be put vp to the counsell. The prince office continueth six his life time, onelesse he be deposed or put downe for suspition of tirannie. They chuese the Tranthoites yearely. Not lightly chaunge them not. All the other officers be but for one yeare. The Tranthoites euery thirde daye, and sometimes of their offence comming the counsell house with the prince. There counsell is concerninge the common wealthe. If there be ange contrauerties amonge the commoners, whether be verye fewe, they dispatch and ende them by and by. They take ouer. 61. Demographaunces to the in counsell, vnlesse that a new counsell

Tyranny in a wel ordered Comune publique diuerslie to be abhorred.

Sudden and straunge contrarties betweene parties in parcle further with to be enacted which now a dales of a set purpose be vnreasonably delaied.

And

And it is prouided, that nothinge touchinge the common wealthe shalbe confirmed and ratified, onelesse it haue bene reasoned of and debated three dates in the counsell, before it be decreed. It is deathe to haue anye consultation for the common wealthe oute of the counsell or the place of the common electiō. This statute they saye, was made to the entent, that the prince and the Tanistes might not easlye conspire together to oppresse the people by tyrannye, and to chaūge the state of the weale publish. Therfore matters of great weighte and importaunce be broughte to the electiō house of the Syphograūtes, which open the matter to their families. And sometyme they haue consulted amonge themselues, they shew their device to the counsell. Sometime the matter is broughte before the counsel of the whole Ilande. Further more this custome also the counsell vseth, to dispute of no matter the same daye that it is first propose or put further, but to deferre it to the next sittinge of the counsell, lest rashe that no man

Against hastie and rashe decrees of statutes.

A custome worthye to be vsed in our counsells & parliamences.

when

when he hath rashely there spoke that commeth to his tonges ende, shall then afterwarde rather studye for reasons wherwith to defende & maintaine his first folish sentence, than for the cõmoditie of ỹ cõmon wealth: as one rather willing the harme or hinderaunce of the weale publike thẽ any losse or diminucion of his owne estimacion. And as one that would be ashamed (which is a verie folishe shame) to be counted anye thing at the firste ouersene in the matter, who at the first ought to haue spoken rather wyselye, than hastely, or rashlye.

¶ Of Sciences, Craftes and Occupations.

Husbandrie or tillage practised of all estates, which nowe adayes is relect vnto a fewe of the basest sort.

HIS handrie is a Science common to them all in generall, bothe men and women, wherein they be all experte and cunning. In this they be all in-

structed

Sciences of occupations should be learned for necessities sake, and not for the maintenance of riotous excesse and wanton pleasure.

Similitude in apparell.

wherefore turn from their youth: partelie in their scholes with traditions and precepts, and partlie in the countrey nighe the citie, brought vp as it were in playinge, not onely beholding the vse of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Besides husbandrie, whiche (as I saide) is common to them all, euerye one of them learneth one or other seuerall and particular science, as his owne proper craft. That is moste commonly either clothworking in wool or flaxe, or masonrie, or the smithes craft, or the carpenters science. For there is none other occupation that any number to speake of doth vse there. For their garmentes, whiche throughoute all the Iland be of one fashion, (sauynge that there is a difference betweene the mans garmente and the womans, betweene the maried and the vnmaried) and this one continueth for euermore vnchaunged, semely and comlie to the eye, no lette to the mouynge and weldoynge of the bodye, also fytte bothe for winter and summer. As for their garmentes (I saye) euery familie maketh

No citizein without a science.

maketh their owne. But of the other forelaide crafte euerye man learneth one. And not onely the men, but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, be put to the easyer crafte: as to worke wolle and flaxe. The more lasthome sciences be committed to the men. For the moste part euery man is brought vp in his fathers crafte.

To what occupation euerye one is naturallie inclined. that let him learne.

For moste commonlye they be naturallie therto bente and inclined. But yf a mans minde stande to anye other, he is by adoption put into a familye of that occupation, which he doth most fantasy. Wherein not onely his father, but also the magistrates do diligently labor to, that he be put to a discrete and an honest householder. Yea, and if anye person, when he hath learned one crafte, be desierous to learne also another, he is likewyse suffred and permitted.

When he hathe learned bothe, he occupieth whether he wyll: sauelle the citie haue more neade of the one, then of the other. The chiefe and almoste the onelye office of the Syphograunte is, to see and take heede, that no manne

sit

sible: but that euery one applye hys
his owne craft with earnest diligence.
And yet for all that, not to be wearied
from early in the morninge, to late in
the euenynge, with continuall worke,
like labourynge and toylynge beastes.
For this is worse then the miserable &
wretched condition of bondemen,
which neuerthelesse is almoste euery-
where the lyfe of workemen and
artificers, sauing in Vtopia. For they
diuidynge the daye and the nyghte into
xxiiii. iuste houres, appointe and assigne
onelye sixe of those houres to worke
before noone, vpon the whiche they go
streyghte to dinner: and after dinner, whe
they haue rested two houres, then they
worke iii. houres & vpon that they go to
supper. About eyghte of the cloke in the
euenynge (counting one of the cloche at
the firste houre after noone) they go to
bedde: eyght houres they geue to slepe.
All the voide time, that is betweene the
houres of worke, slepe, and meate, that
they be suffered to bestowe, euery man
as he liketh best him selfe. Not to thin-
tent that they shold mispend the time
in

Idel persones to be driuē out of the weale pu blique.

A moderation in the labours and toyle of ar tificers.

in riote, or slouthfulnes: but beyng then licensed from the labour of their owne occupations, to bestowe the time well and thriftely vpon some other science, as shall please them. For it is a solempne custome there, to haue lectures daylye redde in the morning, where to be present they only be constrained that be namelye chosen and appoynted to learninge. Howbeit a great multitude of euery sort of people, both men and women go to heare lectures, some one and some an other, as euerye mans nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestowe this time vpon his owne occupation, (as it chaunceth in many, whose mindes rise not in the contemplation of any science liberall) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is also praysed and commended, as profitable to the common wealthe. After supper they bestowe one houre in playe: in summer in their gardens: in winter in their comen halles: where they dine and suppe. There they exercise themselues in musike, or els in honest and wholsome communication.

The studie of good literature

Playing after supper.

Dice:

Dyceplaye, and luche other folithe and pernitious games they know not. But they vse .ij. games not much vnlike the eche. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one numbre stealethe awaye another. The other is wherein vices fyghte with vertues, as it were in battell arraye, or a set fyld. In the which game is verye properlye shewed, bothe the vnitie and discorde that vices haue amonge themselues, and agayne theire vnitye and concorde againste vertues: And also what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues: with what power and strength they assaile them openlye: by what wiles and subtelty they assaulte them secretelye: with what helpe and ayde the vertues resiste, and ouercome the puissaunce of the vices: by what craft they frustrate theire purpoles: and finally by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victory. But here least you be deceaued, one thinge you muste looke more narrowly vpon. For seinge they bestowe but .vj. houres in worke, perchaunce you maye thinke that the lacke of some necessarye thinges herebi

But nowe as dalen dyceplaye is the pastime of princes.

Vices or games also pernitious.

maye ensewe. But this is nothinge so. For that smal time is not only enough but also to muche for the store and abundaunce of all thinges, that be requisite, either for the necessitie, or commoditie of life. The which thinge you also shall perceaue, if you weye and consider with youre selfes how great a parte of the people in other contreis liueth idle. First almost all women, whyche be the halfe of the whole numbre: or els if the women be somewhere occupied, there most comonlye in their steade the men be idle. Besydes this how greate, and howe idle a companye is there of preystes, and religious men, as they cal them? put thereto al ryche men, specialye all landed men, which comonlye be called gentilmen, and noble men. Take into this numbre also their seruauntes: I meane all that flocke of stoute bragging russhe bucklers. Ioyne to this also sturdy and valiaunte beggers, clokinge their idle lyfe vnder the colour of some disease or sickenes. And truelye you shal find this much fewer then you thought, by whose labour al these thinges

The kyndes & sortes of idle people.

Women.

Preistes and religious men.

Riche men and landed men.

Seruyngmen.

Sturdy and valiaunte beggers.

ons are wrought, that in mens affaires are now daylye vsed and frequented. Moreouer consyder with youre selfe, of these fewe that doe worke, how fewe be occupied in necessarye workes. For where money beareth all the swinge, there many vayne and superfluous occupations must nedes be vsed, to serue only for ryotous superfluite, and vnhonest pleasure. For the same multitude that now is occupied in worke, if they were deuided into so fewe occupations as the necessarye vse of nature requyreth, in so greate plentye of thinges as thē of necessity would ensue, doubtles the prices wolde be to lytle for the artificers to mayntayne theire liuinges. But yf all these, that be nowe busied about vnprofitable occupations, with all the whole flocke of them that lyue pelfye and slouthfullye, whyche consume and waste euerye one of them more of these thinges that come by other mens labour, then if of the workemen themselfes doo: yf all these (I saye) were sette to profytable occupations; you easelye perceaue howe

Wonderfull wittely spoken.

lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea and
to muche to store vs with all thinges
that maye be requisite either for neces
sitie, or for commoditye, yea or for plea
sure, so that the same pleasure be trewe
and natural. And this in Vtopia the
thinge it selfe maketh manifeste and
playne. For there in all the citye, with
the whole contreye, or shiere adioynig
to it, scarselye .500. persons of al ỹ whole
numbre of me and women, that be nei
ther to olde, nor to weake to worke, be
licensed and discharged from labour.
Amonge them be the Siphograuntes
(whoe thoughe they be by the lawes
exempte and priuileged from labour)
yet they exempte not themselues: to
the intent they may the rather by their
example prouoke other to worke. The
same vacation from labour do they al
so enioye, to whome the people persua
ded by the commendation of the prie
stes, and secrete election of the Siphos
graustes, haue geuen a perpetual licen
se from labour to learninge. But if any
one of them proue not accordinge to
the expectation and hoope of him con-

Not a smuche as the magi strates liue idelly.

ceaued.

reuerd, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarye wise, often it chaunceth that a handicrafftes man doth so earnestly bestowe his vacaunte and spare houres in learninge, and through diligence so profyteth therin, that he is take frō his handy occupation, & promoted to the company of the learned. Oute of this ordre of the learned be chosen ambassadoures, priestes, Tranibores, and finally the prince him selfe. Whome they in theire olde tonge cal Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus. The residewe of the people being neither vsed, nor yet occupied about vnprofitable exercises, it may be eakely iudged in how fewe houres how muche good woorke by thē may be doone & dispatched, towardes those thinges ỹ I haue spoken of. This commodity they haue also aboue other, ỹ in the most part of necessarye occupations they neade not so much woork, as other nations doe. For first of all ỹ buildinge or repayringe of houses asketh euerye where so manye mens continual labour, bicause ỹ the

Onely learned men called to offices.

How to auoyd excessiue cost in building.

buthriftye heire sufferyth ꝑ houses that his father buylded in contynuaunce of tyme to fall in decay. So that which he myghte haue vpholden with lytle coste, hys successour is constreyned to buylde it agayne a newe, to his greate charge. Yea manye tymes also the howse that stoode one man in muche moneye, another is of so nyce and soo delycate a mynde, that he setteth nothynge by it. And it beynge neglected, and therefore shortelye fallynge into ruyne, he buyldeth vppe another in an other place with no lesse coste and charge. But amonge the Vtopians, where all thynges be sette in a good ordre, and the common wealthe in a good staye, it very seldom chaunceth, that they sholde a newe plotte to buylde an house vpon. And they doo not only finde spedy and quicke remedies for ꝑsent faultes: but also ꝑuente them that be like to fall. And by this meanes their houses continewe and laste very longe with litle labour and smal reparations: in so much that this kynd of woorkmen sometymes haue

haue almost nothinge to doo. But that they be cõmaunded to hewe timbre at home, and to square and trimme vp stones, to the intente that if anye woorke chaunce, it may the spedelier erle. Now for in their apparell, marke (I praye you) howe few woorkmen they haue: Fyrste of al, whyles they be at woorke, they be couered homely with leather or skinnes, that will last .vii. yeares: when they go fourthe abroode they caste vpõ them a cloke, whych hydeth the other homelye apparell. These clookes through out the whole Iland be all of one coloure, and that is the naturall coloure of the woul. They therefore do not only spend much lesse woull clothe then is spente in other contreis, but also the same standeth them in muche lesse coste. But lynen clothe is made with lesse labour, and is therefore hadde more in vse. But in lynen cloth onlye whytenesse, in woullen onlye clennes is regarded. As for the smalnesse or finenesse of ỹ threde, that is no thinge passed for. And this is the cause wherfore in other places .iii. or .iiii.

How to lessen the charge in apparel.

clothe

clothe gownes of diuers coloures, and as manye silke cootes be not enoughe for one man. Yea and yf he be of the delicate & nyse sorte, it be to fewe: whereas there one garmente wyll serue a man moofte commenlye .iij. yeares. For what shoulde he desyre moo? seinge yf he had the, he should not be the better hapte or couered from colde, neither in his apparel anye whitte the comlyer. Wherefore, seinge they be all exercysed in profitable occupations, and that fewe artificers in the same craftes be sufficiente, this is the cause that plentye of all thinges beinge among them, they vse sometymes beinge forthe an innumerable companye of people to amende the hyghe wayes, yf anye be broken. Many times also, when they haue no suche woorke to be occupied about, an open proclamatiō is made, that they shall bestowe fewer houres in woorke. For the magistrates doe not exercise theire citizens against theire willes in vnneadefull laboures. For while in the institution of that weale publique, this ende is onelye and chiefely preten-

ded

ded and myuded, that what time maye possible be spared from the necessarye occupacions and affayres of the commen wealth, all ỹ the citizens shoulde withdraw fro the bodely seruice to the free libertye of the minde, and gar dilligence of the same. For herein they suppose the felicitye of this life to consiste.

¶ Of theire liuinge & mutual conuersation together.

But nowe will I declare how the citizens vse the selfes one towardes another: what familiar occupieng and entertaynment, there is amonge the people, and what fautis they vse in the distribution of euery thing. First the city consisteth of families, the families most commonlye be made of kinredes. For the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into theire husbandes houses. But the male children, w̃ al the whole male offspringe

continewe still in their owne family & be gouerned of the eldest and auncientest father, onles he dote for age: for thē the next to him in age, is placed in his rowme. But to thintēt ꝑ prescript nūber of the citezens shoulde neither decreale, nor aboue measure increase, it is ordeined that no familie which in euerye citie be. vi. thousād in the whole, besyders thē of the contrey, shall at ones haue fewer children of the age of. xiiii. yeares or there about thē. x. or mo then. xvi. for of children vnder this age no nūbre cā be prescribed or appointed. This measure or nūbre is easely obserued & kept, by putting thē that i fuller families be aboue the nūber into families of smaller increase. But if chaūce be that in ꝑ whole citie the flooze encrease aboue the iust nūber, therewith they fil vp ꝑ lacke of other cities. But if so be ꝑ the multitude throughout the whole Ilande passe & excede the dewe number, then they chuese out of euery citie certein citezēs, & build vp a towne vnder their owne lawes i the next lād where the inhabitauntes haue muche

The nombre of citizens.

waste

waste & vnoccupied ground, receauing also of the same countrey people to theyr, if they will come and dwell with them. Where this ioyning & dwelling together do easely arise in one nacion of liuing, & that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so bringe the matter about by theire lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe sufficiente and fruteful enoughe for them both. But if the inhabitauntes of that lande wyl not dwell with them to be ordred by theire lawes, the they dryue them out of those bounder which they haue limited and apointed out for them selues. And if they resiste and rebel, then they make warre against them. For they counte this the moste iuste cause of warre, when anye people holdeth a piece of grounde voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable vse, kepyng other from the vse and possession of it, whiche notwithstandyng by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nourysshed & relieued. If anye chaunce do so muche diminishe

the

the number of any of theire cities, that it cannot be fylled vp agayne, without the diminishynge of the full numbre of the other cyties (whiche they say chaunced but twyse synce the beginnyng of the lande throughe a greate pestilente plage) then they fulfyll and make vp the numbre with cytezens fetched out of theire owne forreyne townes, for they had rather suffer theire forreyne townes to decaye and perysshe then any cytie of theire owne Ilande to be diminished. But nowe agayne to the conuersation of the cytezens amonge themselues. The eldest (as I sayde) rulethe the familye. The wyfes ben ministers to theire husbandes, the children to theire parentes and to ben shortt the yonger to theire elders. Euerye Cytie is deuided into foure equall partes or quarters. In the myddes of euery quarter there is a market place of all maner of thinges. Thether the workes of euery familie be brought into certeyne houses. And euerye kynde of thing is layde vp seuerall in bernes or store houses. From hence the father of

So might we well be discharged and eased of the vyle occupany of seruyngmen.

of euerye familye, or euery housholder fetcheth whatsoeuer he and his haue neade of, and carieth it away with him without money, without exchaunge, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. For whye shoulde any thing be denyed vnto him? Syng there is abundaunce of all thinges, and that it is not to bee feared, lest anye man will aske more then he needeth. For why should it be thoughte that that man woulde aske more then enough, which is sewer neuer to lacke? Certeynely in all kyndes of lyuinge creatures either feare of lacke bothe cause couetousnes and rapine, or in man only pryde, which counteth it a glorious thinge to passe and excel other in the superfluous and vayne ostentation of thinges. The whyche kynde of vice amonge the Utopians can haue no place. Nexte to the market places that I spake of, stande meate markettes: whether be brought not only all sortes of herbes, and the fruites of trees, with breade, but also fishe, & all maner of .iiii. footed beastes, and wilde fowle that be mans meate. But firste

The cause of couetous and extortion.

fyrst the fylthynes and ordure therof is cleane washed awaye in the renninge ryuer without the cytie in places appoynted mete for the same purpose. From thence the beastes be brought in kylled, and cleane washed by the handes of theire bondemen. For they permitte not their frie citezens to accustome them selfes to the killing of beastes, through the vse whereof they thinke, clemencye the gentelistke affection of oure nature by sytle and sytle to decaye and perysshe. Neither they suffer anye thinge that is fylthye, lothesom, or vncleanlye, to be brought into the cytie, least the ayre by the stenche therof infected and corrupte, shoulde cause pestilente diseases. Moreouer euerye strete hath certeyne great large halles sett in equal distaunce one from another, euerye one knowen by a seuerall name. In theise halles dwell the Syphograuntes. And to euerye one of the same halles be apoynted .xxx. families, on either side .xv. The stewardes of euerye halle at a certayne houre come in to the meate marketes, where they re-

Of the slaughter of beastes we haue learned māslaughter.

Fylth & ordure bring the infection of pestilence into Cyties.

ceyue

cyue meate accordinge to the number of their halles. But firſt and chiefly of all reſpect is had to the ſycke, that be cured in the hoſpitalles. For in the cir cuite of the citie, a litle without ỹ walles, they haue .iiii. hoſpitalles, ſo bigge ſo wyde, ſo ample, & ſo large, that they may ſeme .iiij. litle townes, which were deuiſed of ỹ bignes partely to thintent the ſycke, be they neuer ſo many in nũbre, ſhuld not lye to thronge or ſtrayte, and therfore vneaſely, & incõmodiouſly: partely that they which were taken & holden with contagious diſeaſes, ſuche as be wonte by infection to crepe from one to an other, myght be layde a part farre from the cõpany of ỹ reſidue. Theſe hoſpitalles be ſo wel appointed, and with al thinges neceſſary to healthe ſo furniſhed, & more ouer ſo diligẽt attẽdaũce through the cõtinuall preſence of cũning phiſitians is geuen, that though no man be ſent thether againſt his will, yet notwithſtandinge there is no ſicke perſone in al the citie, that had not rather lye there, thẽ at home in his owne houſe. When the ſte-

Care, diligẽce and attendãce about the ſicke

warde

warde of the sicke hath receiued suche meates as the physitians haue prescribed. then the bede is equallye deuided among the halles, according to the company of euery one, sauing that there is had a respect to the prince, the bysshop, the traunbours, and to ambassadours & all straungers, if there be any, which be verye fewe and seldome. But they also when they be there, haue certeyne seuerall houses apointed and prepared for the. To these halles at y fyue houres of dinner & supper cōmeth all the whole Siphograuitie or warde, warned by y noyse of a brasse trūpet, except suche as be sicke in y holpitalles, or els in their owne houses. Howbeit no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halles be serued, to fetch home meate out of y market to his own house, for they knowe that no man wyll doe it without a cause reasonable. For thoughe no man be prohibited to dyne at home, yet no man doth it willyngly: because it is counted a poynte of small honestie. And also it were a folly to take the payne to dresse a badye dinner at home, whē they

Euery man is at his liberte, so that nothing is done by compulsion.

maye

may be welcome to good and fyne fare to neighe handes at the hall. In this hal al vile seruice, all slauery, and drudgerie, with all labourlome toyle, & base businesse is done by bondemen. But the women of euery family by courses haue the office and charge of cookerie for seething and dressinge the meate, and orderinge all thinges therto belongyng. They sit at three tables or moe, accordinge to the numbre of their company. The men sitte vpon the bench next the wall, and the women against them on the other side of the table, that yf anye sodeyne euyll should chaunce to them, as manye tymes happeneth to women with chylde, they maye rise wythoute trouble or disturbaunce of anye bodie, and go thence into the nurcerie. The nurces sitte seuerall alone with their younge suckelinges in a certaine parlloure appointed & deputed to the same purpose, neuer wythoute fire & cleane water, nor yet wont cradels, that whē they will they maye laye downe the younge infantes, and at their pleasure take them oute of their swathynge clothes

Women bothe dresse & serue the meate.

Nurces.

thes, and holde them to the fire, and refreshe them with playe. Euery mother is nource to her owne childe, onles either death, or sickines be the let. Yeyen that chaunceth the wiues of the Sophograuntes quyckelye proue nources. And that is not harde to be done. For they that can doo it, prefer children to no seruice so gladlye as to that. Because that there thys kinde of pitie is muche praysed: and the chylde that is nourished, euer after taketh his nource for his owne naturall mother. Also amonge the nourtrels, spete all the children that be vnder the age of 6. yeares. All the other chyldren of bothe kyndes, aswell boyes as girles, that be vnder the age of maryage, doe ether serue at the tables, or els if they be to yonge thereto, yet they stande vp with maruaillous silence. That whiche is geuen to them from the table they eate, and other seuerall vyande tyme they haue none. The Sophograunte and his wife sitte in the myddes of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honorablest place, and

Nothing sooner prouoketh men to well doyng then praise and cõmendation.

The education of yonge children.

because

because from thence all the whole com
pante is in their sight. For that table
standeth ouer whearte the ouer ende of
the hall. To them be ioyned two of the
auncientest and eldest. For at euerye
table they sit foure at a messe. But yf
there be a church standing in ỹ hypho-
grauntie or shyre, then the preest and
his wife sitteth with the hyphograunt,
as chiefe in the cõpany. On both sydes
of them sit yonge men, and nexte vnto
them again olde men. And thus through
out all the house equall of age be sette
together, & yet be mixt & matched with
vnequal ages. This, they say, was ordey-
ned, to the intent that the sage gra-
uitie and reuerẽce of the elders, should
kepe the yongers from wanton licence
of wordes and behauioure. For asmuch
as nothynge can be so secretlye spoken
or done at the table, but either they
that sit on the one side or on the other
muste nedes perceaue it. The dishes be
not set down in order frõ the first place
but all the olde men (whose places be
marked with some speciall token to be
knowẽ) be first serued of their meate, &

The yong mixed with their elders.

Olde men regarded and reuerenced.

then the reste equally. The old men deuide their deinties as they think best to the yonger on eche syde of them. Thus the elders be not defrauded of their due honoure, and neuertheles equall cōmodite cometh to euery one. They begin euery dinner & supper of some thing ꝑteineth to good maners & vertue. But it is short, because no man shulde be greued therwith. Diuers tymes they take occasion of honest communication, but neither sadde nor vnpleasaunt. Howbeit they do not spende all the whole dinertime themselues with longe and tedious talkes: but they gladly heare also the yonge men: yea, and purposelye prouoke them to talke, to thentent that they may haue a proofe of euery mans wit, & towardnes, or disposition to vertue, which cōmōlie in the libertie of feasting doth shew and vtter it selfe. Their diners be verie short: but their suppers be somwhat lōger, because that after dyner foloweth labour, after supper slepe and natural reste, whiche they thinke to be of more strength and efficacie to wholsome and healthful

This nowe adaies is obserued in oure vniuersities.

Talke at the table.

This is repugnaunt to the opinion of our physitions.

healthfull digestion. No supper is passed without musicke. Nor their banketes lacke no conceytes nor iolnetes. They burne sweete gummes and spices or perfumes, and prouide swete smelles, and sprenckle aboute swete oyntementes & waters, yea they lacke nothing whatsoeuer that maketh for the cherishinge of the company. For they be muche enclined to this opinion to thinke no kinde of pleasure forbydden, wherof commeth no harme. Thus therefore and after this sorte they liue together in the citie, but in the countrey they that dwell alone farre from any neighbours, they dine & suppe at home in their owne houses. For no familie there lacketh any kinde of victuailes, as from whom comth mech all that the citezens eate and lyue by. Musicke at the table.

Pleasure without harme not discōmendable.

Of their iourneying or trauayling abrode, with diuers other matters cunningly reasoned, and wittily discussed.

BVt if any be desirous to visite either their frendes dwelling in an other cite, or to see the place it selfe: they take ye obteyne licence of their Siphograntes and Tranibores, onelesse there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a companie is sente forth together with their princes letters, which do ye tyme that they haue licence to go that iourney, and prescribeth also the day of their retourne. They haue a wageyn geuen them, with a common bondman, which driueth the oxen, & taketh charge of them. But onles they haue women in their companie, they sende home the wageyn againe, as an impediment and a let. And thoughe they carye nothynge furth with them, yet in all their iorney they

they lack nothing. For wheresoeuer they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one yere, that there euery one of them falleth to his owne occupation, & be verye gētilye entertained of the workemē & cōpanies of the same craftes. If any man of his owne heade & without leaue, walke out of his precinct & boundes, take without the princes letters, he is brought againe for a fugitiue or a runnawey wt great shame & rebuke, & is shorelye punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If anye be desirous to walke about within the feldes, or into the countrey pertayning to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obteininge the good will of his father, & the assente of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of y cōtrey soeuer he cōmeth he hath no meate geuen him vntil he haue wrought out his forenoones taske, or his portion of worke, as there is vsed to be wrought before supper. Obseruing this law & cōdition, he may go whether he will within the boundes of his owne citie, for he shalbe no les profitable to y

citie, that if he were within it. Now you se howe litle liberte they haue to loiter: howe they can haue no cloke or pretence to idlenes. There be neither wineta-uernes, nor ale houses, nor stewes, nor any occasion of vice or wickednes, no lurkinge corners, no places of wycked counsels or vnlawfull assembles. But they be in the presence sighte, and vnder the eies of every man. So that of necessitie they must either apply their accustomed labours, or els recreate themselues with honest & laudable pastimes. This fashion & trade of life, being vsed amonge the people, it cannot be chosen, but that they muste of necessitie haue store and plentie of all thinges. And ly-uing thus they be all therof partakers equalitie, therefore can no man there be poore or needie. In the counsell of Amaurot, whether, as I said, euery citie sendeth three men a pece yearly, assone as it is perfectly knowne of what thinges there is in euery place plentie, & againe what thinges be skant in any place: incontinent the lacke of the one is perfourmed and filled vp w the aboundaunce of the o-

ther

O holy commō wealth, and of Christians to be followed.

Equalitie is the cause that euery mā hath enoughe.

ther. And this they do freely without ex-
pectation of benefite, taking nothing againe of
them to whō they geue their thinges nor
cities that haue geuen of their store to
any other citie that lacketh, requiring
nothing againe of the same citie, do take
such thinges as they lacke of an other
citie, to the which they gaue nothinge.
And the whole yle is as it were one
familie, or housholde. But when they
haue made sufficient mouision of store
for themselues (which they thinke not
done, vntil they haue prouided for two
yeres folowinge, because of the vncer-
tentie of the next yeares proffit) then of
those thinges, wherof they haue abun-
daunce, they carie forth into other reall
of great plentie as graine, honie,
wulle, flare, woode, madder, purple die
en felles, ware, tallowe, leather, and lyt-
tinge beastes. And the fourth parte of
all these thynges they geue franckely
and freely to the poore of that countrey.
And the residewe they sell at a reasonable
and meane price. By this trade of traf-
fique or marchaundise, they bring into
their own countrey, not only great plen-
ty

A common wealthe is nothing elles but a great housholde.

The traffique and marchaundise of the Vtopians.

of

of golde and siluer, but also all such thynges as they lacke at home, whyche is almoste nothynge but Iron. And by reason they haue longe vsed this traffique they haue more abundaunce of these thinges, then any man wyll beleue. Howe therfore they care not whether they sell for readye money, or els vpon truste to be payed at a dayes, and to haue the moste parte in debtes.

In all thynges and aboue all other to their cõmunitie they haue an eye.

But in so doynge they neuer folowe the credence of priuate men, but the assurance of the cõmunitie, by instrumentes & writinges made in that behalfe accordingly. When the dayes of paiement be come and expired, the citie gathereth vp the debte of the priuate debtoures, & putteth it into the common store, and so longe hathe the vse and profite of it, vntill the Utopians their creditoures demaunde it. The moste parte of it they neuer aske. For that thynge whyche is to them no profite, to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thynke it no right nor conscience. But if the case so stande, that they must lende part of that money, to an

By what policie money may be in lesse estimation.

an other people, then they require their debtes, or when they haue warres for the whiche purpose onelye they kepe at home all the treasure, whiche they haue, yea by polycye and forecaste be in either of extreame iopardyes, or in sodeyne daungers. But especially and chiefelye to hyere therewith, and that for vnreasonable greate wages, straunge soldiours. For they had rather put straungers in ieopardie, then their owne countreymen: knowynge that for money ynough their enemyes sometymes many times may be bought and solde, or elles throughe treason be sette togethers by the eares amongst themselues. For this cause they kepe an inestimable treasure. But yet not as a treasure: but so they haue it, as vse it, as in good faythe I am ashamed to shewe feareinge that my wordes shall not be beleued. And this I haue more cause to feare, for that I knowe howe difficultlie and hardelye I myselfe would haue beleued an other man tellinge the same, if I had not presente bye seene it with mine owne eyes.

It is better either with money or by pollicye to auoyde warre, then with muche losse of mans bloud to fighte.

O fine wytte.

For

For it muste needes be, that holde fayre a thynge is dissonaunt and disagreyng from the guise and trade of the heauens, so fayre shall it be out of their beleefe. Howbeit, a wise and indifferent estimer of thynges, with not greatlye mary uell perchaunce, fynde all their other lawes and customes so muche differre from ours, yf the vse also of golde and syluer amonge them be applied rather to their owne fashyons, than to ours. I meane in that they scruple not money themselues, but kepe it for that chaunce, whiche as it maye happe, so it maye be, that it shall neuer come to passe. In the meane time golde and syluer, whereof money is made, they doe so vse, as none of them doeth more esteme it, then the verye nature of the thinge deserueth. And then who doeth not playnelye se, howe fayre it is vnder Ironnes without the whiche men can no better lyue then without fyere and water. Whereas to golde and syluer nature hath geuen no vse, that we may not well lacke it: that the follye of men hadde not sette it in higher estimation

Golde worse then yron as touchynge the necessarie vse therof.

for

the vareuelle lake. But of the contrarie parte, nature as a moofte tender and louynge mother, hathe placed the beste and moofte necessarie thinges open abroade: as the ayere, the water, and the yearth it selfe. And hathe removed and hyd farthest from vs vayne and vnprofitable thinges. Therefore if these metalles amonge them shoulde be kepte locked vp in some towre, it might be suspected, that the prince and the counsell (as the people is euer foolishelie ymaginynge) intended by some subtilitie to deceaue the commons, and to take some profite of it to themselues. Furthermore if they shold make therof plate and such other fynelie and curiouslie wrought stuffe: if at anye time they should haue occasion to breake it: and melte it againe, therewith to paye their souldiers wages, they see and perceaue verye well, that men would be lothe to parte from those thinges, that they ones begonne to haue pleasure & delite in. To remedie all this they haue founde oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agreable to all their other lawes and cu-

cuſtomes. So it is in vrs, where golde is ſo much ſet by, and ſo diligently kept, euery ſauce diſcouered and ſpongemente: and therfore worthible, but vnmete to them that be wiſe. Finally where as they eate and drinke in earthen & claiſh veſſelles, which in deede be curiouſlye and properlie made, and yet be of verye ſmal value: of golde and ſyluer they make commonly chaumber pottes, and other ſtuffe, that ſerue for moſte vile vſes, not onely in their comune hulles, but in euery mans priuate houſe. Furthermore of the ſame metailes they make gerate chaines, fetters, & gieues wherein the tie their bondmen. Finally whoſoeuer for anye offenſe be infamed, by their eares hange rynges of golde: vpon their fyngers they weare rynges of golde, and aboute their neckes chaines of golde: in concluſion their heades be tied aboute with gold. Thus by al meanes poſſible they procure to haue golde & ſiluer among them in reproche and infamie. And theſe metailes, which other nations do as greuouſly and ſorowefullye forgo, as in a maner their owne

O wonderfull contumelie of golde.

Golde the reprochful badge of infamed perſons.

owne lines: if they should altogethers at ones be take from the Vtopians, no man there would thinke that he had lost the worth of one farthing. They gather also pearles by the sea side, & Diamonds and carbuncles vpon certen rockes, and yet they seke not for them: but by chaunce finding them, they cut and polish them. And therwith they decke their ponge infauntes. Whiche like as in the first yeres of their childhod, they make muche and be fonde and proude of such ornamentes, so whē they be a little more growen in yeares and discretion, perceiuing that none but children do weare such toies and trifels: they lay them aside, wythoute anye bydynge of their parentes: euen as oure children, when they ware bygge, doo caste awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. Wher for thele lawes and customes, whiche be so farre differente from al other nations, howe diuers fantasies also and myndes they doo cause, bydde I neuer so playnelie perceaue, as in the Ambassadoures of the Anemolians.

Gemmes and precious stones, toyes for ponge children to playe withall.

Thele

A very pleasaunt tale.

Theſe Ambaſſadours came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And because they came to entreate of great & weighty matters, thoſe three citizens a peece of euery citie were comen thether before them. But all the Ambaſſadours of the nexte countreis, whiche had bene there before, and knewe the faſhions and maners of the Utopians, amonge whome they perceaued no honoure geuen to ſumptuous apparell, ſilken to be contemned, golde alſo to be infamed and reprochful, were wont to come thether in verie homelye and ſimple araye. But the Auemolianes becauſe they dwell farre thence, and had verie litle aquaintaūce with them: hearinge that they were all apparelled a like, and that verie rudely and homely: thinkinge them not to haue the thinges whiche they did not weare: being therfore moſte proude, them ſelfe: determyned in the goryouſnes of their apparel to repreſente verye goddes, and with the brightē ſhyninge and glyſteringe of their gay clothing to dazell the eyes of the lime poore Utopians. So there came

tant in.iii. Ambassadours w.c. seruaūts all appareiled in chaungeable colours: the moste of them in silkes: the Ambassadours themselfes (for at home in their owne cōtrey they were noble) in cloth of gold, w̄ great cheines of gold, w̄ golde hanginge at their eares, with gold ringes vpō their fingers with brouches & aglettes of gold vpō their cappes, which glistered ful of peerles & precious stones: to be short trimmed, & abourned with al those thinges, which amōg the vtopians were either the punishemēt of bondmen, or the reproche of infamed persones, or elles trifels for yonge children to playe withal. Therefore it wolde haue done a man good at his harte to haue sene howe proudely they displeyed theire peacockes fethers, howe muche they made of theire paynted sheathes, and howe lofftely they set forth and aduaunced them selfes, when they compared their gallaunte apparell with the poore rayment of the vtopiās. For al the people were swarmed forth into the stretes. And on the other side it was no lesse pleasure to cōsider

howe muche they were deceaued, and how farre they missed of their purpose being contrary wayes take, then they thought they should haue bene. For to the eyes of all the vtopians, except very fewe, which had bene in other countreys for some reasonable cause, al that gorgeousnes of apparrel semed shamefull and reprocheful. In so muche that they most reuerently saluted the vilest and most abiect of them for lordes: passing ouer the Ambassadours themselfes without any honour: iudging them by their wearing of golden cheynes to be bondmē. Yea you should haue seene children also, that had caste away their peerles and pretious stones, whē they sawe the like sticking vpon the Ambassadours cappes: digge and pushe theire mothers vnder the sides, saynge thus to them. Loke mother how great a lubber doth yet were peerles and pretious stoones, as though he were a litel child stil. But the mother, yea and that also in good earnest: peace sone, saith she: I thinke he be some of the Ambassadours fooles. Some founde faulte at theire

O wittie head

golden

golde cheines, as to no vse nor purpose, beinge so small and weake, that a bonde-man vnchayne readily breake them, and a-gayne so wyde and large, that when it pleases him, he myght cast them of, and runne away at libertye whether he would. Some whe the Ambassadours hadde bene there a daye or ii. and sawe so great abundaunce of golde vyleer-lye eteemed, yea in no lesse reproche, then it was with them in honour: & before that more golde at the cheines & gieues of one fugitiue bondman, then all the costelye ornamentes of them all, was woont: they beganne to abate their courage, and for very shame layde away all that goldy gaye arraye, whereof there were so plaine and perpaile wyfe there had talked familiarlye with the Utopians, and had learned all theire fashions and opinions. For they maruyle that any men be so tolyble as to haue delite & pleasure in the doubtefull glistringe of a litle cryttelynge stone, which maye beholde aboue al the starres, or elles the sonne it selfe.

doubteful he calleth it, either in consideration & respecte of costlines, or elles he calleth doubteful very litell worthe.

Wythat anye man is so mad, as to
count him selfe the nobler for the small-
ler of tynes threde of woll, whych selfe
same woll (be it now in neuer so fyne a
spoonne threde) is fytte for no mans weare:
and yet was she all that time no other
thyng then a shepe. They maruelle also
that golde, whych of the owne nature
is a thynge so vnprofytable, is nowe a-
monge all people in so hyghe estimati-
on, that man him selfe, by whome, yea
and for the vse of whome it is so much
set by, is in muche lesse estimation, the
the golde is selfe. Yea so muche that a
lumpyshe blockehedded churle, and
whyche hathe no more wytte then an
asse, yea and as ful of noughtynes as of
folilye, shall haue neuertheles manye
wyse and good men in subiection and
bondage, only for this, bycause he hath
a greate heape of golde, whyche yf it
shoulde be taken from hym by anye
fortune, or by some subtyll wyle and
cautele of the lawe, (whyche no lesse
then fortune dothe bothe cast vp the
lowe, and pluche downe the highe)
and be geuen to the moste vile slaue

A true saying of a lowtishe.

and

and chiefe dyuell of all his houſholde, then ſhortely after he ſhal goo into the ſeruice of his ſeruaunt, as an augmentation or ouerplus aboue his nombre. But they muche more marueil, & haue in deteſt the madnes of them, whyche to ſuche riche men, in whoſe debte and daunger they be not, do giue almoſt diuine honoures, for none other conſideration, but bicauſe they be riche: and yet knowing them to bee ſuche nigeshe penne fathers, that they be ſure as long as they liue, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold ſhall come to them. Theſe and ſuche like opinions haue they conceaued, partely by educacion, beinge brought vp in that commō wealth, whoſe lawes and cuſtomes be farre different from theſe kindes of folke, and partely by good literature and learning. For though there be not many in euery citie, whiche be exempte and diſcharged of all other labour, and appointed only to learning, that is to ſaye: ſuche in whome euen from their very childhode they haue perceaued a ſingular towardnes, a fyne wytte, and

howe muche more worthe is in the heades of the Utopians then of the common ſorte of chriſtians.

a minde apte to good learninge. yet all in their childhode be instructe in learninge. And the better parte of the people, bothe men and women, bringe oute all their whole lyfe bod dedowe in learninge those thinges, whiche they have ones learned. Many be taughte learninge in verie shorte time. For it is bothe copious in wordes, and also pleasaunte to the persaun to the ouerraunce of a mans minde verie perfecte and sure. The moste parte of all that type of the worlde vseth the same language, sauinge that amonge the Utopians it is purest and pleasaunte, and accordinge to the qualitye of the countreye it is qualitye altereth. Of all their philosophers, whose names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to vs knowen, before oure comminge hether not aboute the same of anye of them was comen amonge them. And yet in Musike, Logike, Arythmetike, and Geometrie they have founde oute in a maner all that oure auncient Philosophers

The studies and literature amonge the Utopianes.

Musike Logike Arithmetike Geometrie

lokophers haue tawghte. But as they in all thinges be almoste equal to oure olde auncyente clerkes, in oure newe Logicians in subtyl inuentions haue farre passed and gone beyonde them. For they haue not deuysed one of all those rules of restrictions, ampliffications and suppositions, verye wittelye inuented in the small Logicalles, whyche heare oure children in euery place do learne. Furtheremore they were neuer yet able to fynde out the seconde intentions: insomuche that none of them all coulde euer fee man himselfe in commen, as they cal him, thoughe he be (as you knowe) bygger then euer was anye gyaunte, yea and poynted to of vs euen wyth our fynger. But they be in the coucle of the starres, and the mouynges of the heauenly spheres verye expert and cunnynge. They haue also wittely excogitated and diuised instrumentes of diuers fashions: wherin is exactly comprehended and conteyned the mouynges and situations of the sonne, the mone, and of al the other starres, which

In this place semethe to be a nipping taunte

All

Yet emonge christians this geere is highli estemed thies daies

appere in theire horizon. But as for the amityes and dissentions of the planettes, and all that deceiteful diuination by the starres, they neuer almuch as dreamed therof. Raynes, windes, & other courses of tempestes they knowe before by certeine tokēs, which they haue learned by long vse and obseruatiō. But of the causes of al these thinges & of the ebbinge, flowinge, and saltenes of the sea, and finallye of the originall begynnynge and nature of heauen and of the worlde, they holde partelye the same opinions that oure olde Philosophers hold, and partely, as our Philosophers varye among themselues, so they also, whiles they bringe newe reasons of thinges, do disagree from all them, and yet among themselues in all poyntes they doe not accorde. In that part of Philosophie, which intreateth of maunders and vertue, theire reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualitye of the sowle, of the body, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnes maye be applied to all these, or onlye to the endowmentes

Naturall philosophie is a knowlege most vncertein.

Moral philosophie

The order of good thinges

ornamentes and giftes of the soule. They reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is in what thinge, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man consisthe. But in this poynte they seme almoste to muche geuen and enclyned to the opinion of them, which defende pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefeste parte of mans felicitye to reste. And whyche is more to be marueled at, the defense of this soo depraue and dolicate an opinion, they fetche euen from their graue, sharpe, bytter, and vgglesome religion. For they neuer dispute of felicity or blessednes, but they ioyne vnto the reasons of Philosophye certeyne principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche to the inuestigation of trewe felicitye they thynke reason of it selfe weake & vnperfecte. Whose principles be these & such lyke. That the soule is immortall: & by ỹ bountifull goodnes of God ordeined to felicitie. That to our vertues & good deades rewardes be appointed after this life, and to our euyl deades

The ende of good thinges.

The Utopianes holde opynion that felycytie consysteth in honest pleasure.

The principles of Philosophye grounded vpon religion.

The theologie of the Utopianes.

The immortalitie of the soule, wherof these dayes certeine Christianes be in doubte.

deades punishmētes. Though these be perteynyng to religiō, yet they thincke thmete that they shoulde be beleued & graunted by prokes of reason. But yf these principles were condempned and oplaunullen, then without anye delaye they pronounce no man to be so solish, whiche woulde not do all his diligence and endeauoure to obteyne pleasure be ryght or wronge, anlye auoydynge this inconuenience, that thr lesse pleasure shoulo not be a let or hinderaunce to the biggerem that he labboured not for: that pleasure, whiche would bringe after it displeasure, greefe, and sorrow. For they iudge it extreame madnes to folowe sharp and penfull vertue, & not only to bannishe ꝑ pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer griefe, without anye hope of profit thereof ensuinge. For what profit can there be, if a mā, whē he hath passed ouer all his lyfe in pleasauntly, that is to say, miserablye, shall haue no rewarde after his death? But nowe syr they thinke not felicitie to reste in all pleasure, but only in that pleasure that is good and honeste, and

As euery pleasure ought not to be imbraced so greefe is not to be eschued, but for vertues sake.

that

that hereto, as to perfet blessednes our nature is allured and drawen euen of vertue, whereto only they that be of the contrary opinio do attribute felicitie. For they define vertue to be life ordered according to nature, and that we be herevnto ordeined of god. And that he doth folowe the course of nature, which in chesing and refusinge things is ruled by reason. Furthermore that reason doth chiefely and principally kendle in men the loue and veneration of the deuine maiestie. Of whose goodnes it is that we be, & that we be in possibilitie to attayne felicitie. And that secondarely it bothe stirreth and prouoketh vs to leade our lyfe out of care in ioy & mirth, & also moueth vs to helpe & further all other in respecte of ꝑ societe of nature to obteine & enioye ꝑ same. For there was neuer ma so earnest & paynfull a folower of vertue & hater of pleasure, ꝑ wold so ioyne you laboures, watchinges, & fastinges, but he would also exhort you to ease, lightes & ꝑfetion, to your powre, ꝑ lack & miserye of others, praysing the same as a ded

In this definition of vertue they agre with the Stoiciens.

The worke & effecte of reaso in man.

of humanitie, and pitie. Then if it be a poynte of humanitie for man to bring health and comforte to man, and specially (which is a vertue moste peculiarly belonging to man) to mitigate & asswage the griefe of others, and by taking from them the sorowe and heauynes of lyfe, to restore them to ioye, that is to saye to pleasure: whie maye it not then be sayd, that nature doth prouoke euerye man to doo the same to himselfe? For a ioyfull lyfe, that is to saye, a pleasaunt lyfe is either euyll, and if it be so, then thou shouldest not onlye helpe no man therto, but rather, as much as in the lieth, withdrawe all men frome it, as noysome and hurtfull, or els if it be not onlye mayste, but also of dewty art bounde to procure it to others, why not chiefely to the selfe? To whome thou art bounde to shewe as much fauoure and gentelnes as to other. For whe nature biddeth the to be good & gentle to other she commaundeth the not to be cruell and vngentle to the selfe. Therfore euen very nature (saye they) prescribeth to vs a ioyfull lyfe, that is to say pleasure

as

But nowe a dayes some there bee that wyllingly procure vnto themselues painefull griefes, as thoughe therin rested some hieghe poynte of religion, whereas rather the religio vnly disposed person, yf they happen to hi either by chaunce or elles by naturall necessitie, ought patiently to receaue & suffer them.

as the ende of all oure operations. And they deme vertue to be lyke ordered accordynge to the prescripte of nature. But in that that nature dothe allure and prouoke men one to healpe another to lyue merely (whiche surely she doth not without a good cause: for no man is so fauere aboue the lotte of mās state & condicion, that nature dothe carue and care for hym onlye, whiche equallye fauoureth all, that be comprehended vnder the communion of one shape forme and fashion) verely she commaundeth the to vse diligēt circumspection, that thou do not so leke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore theire opinion is, that not only conuenauntes and bargaynes made amonge priuate men ought to be well and faythefullye fulfilled, obserued, and kepte, but also common lawes, which either a good prince hathe iustly publyshed, or els the people neither oppressed with tyrannye, neither deceaued by fraude and gyell, hath by theire common consent constituted & ratifyed, concerninge the partition

Bargaynes & Lawes.

tion of the commodities of lyfe, that is to say, the matter of pleasure. These lawes not offended, it is wysedome, that thou looke to thine owne wealthe. And to doe the same for the common wealth is no lesse then thy duetie, if thou bearest any reuerent loue, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy native countreye. But to go about to let an other man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyse to withdraw somethinge from the selfe to geue to other, that is a pointe of humanitie and gentilnes: whiche neuer taketh awaye so muche commoditie, as it bringethe agayne. For it is recompensed with the retourne of benefytes, and the conscience of the good deede, with the remembraunce of the thankefull loue and benevolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bringe more pleasure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou hast withholden from thy selfe could haue brought to thy bodye. Finallye (which to a godly disposed & religious mynde is easy to be perswaded) God recompenseth

The mutual recourse of kindnes.

pryseth the gifte of a shorte & smal plea
sure with great and everlastinge ioye.
Therfore the matter diligētly weyede
and considered, thus they thinke, that
all our actions, and in thē the vertues
thēselues be referred at the last to plea-
sure, as their ende & felicitie. Pleasure
they call every motion and state of the
bodie or mynde, wherin mā hath natu-
rally delectatiō. Appetite they ioyne to
nature, and that not without a good
cause. For like as, not only the senses,
but also right reasō coueteth whatsoe
uer is naturally pleasaunt, so ẏ it may
be gotten without wrōg or iniurie, not
letting or debarryng a greater pleasure,
nor causing paynful labour, unē so tho-
se thinges that mā by vayne ymagina-
tion do fayne against nature to be plea
saunt (as though it laye in their power
to chaunge ẏ thinges, as they do ẏ na-
mes of thinges) al suche pleasures they
beleue to be of so small helpe & furthe-
rance to felicitie, that they counte thē
a great let & hinderaūce. Because that
in whom they haue onys taken place,
all his mynde they possesse with a false

The definitiō of Pleasure.

False and coun-terfeate pleasu-res.

opinion

opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and naturall delectations. For there be many thinges, which of their owne nature conteyne no pleasauntnes: yea the moste parte of them muche griefe and sorrowe. And yet throughe the peruerse and malicyous fetherynge inticementes of lewde and vnhonest desyres, be taken not only for speciall soueraigne pleasures, but also be counted amonge the chiefe causes of life. In this counterfeat kinde of pleasure they put that that I spake of before. Whiche the better gownes they haue on, the better are they thinke that selues. In the which thing they doo twyse erre. For they be no lesse deceyued in that they thinke their gowne the better, than they be, in that they thinke themselues the better. For if you consider the profitable vse of the garmente, whye should wulle of a fyner sponne thryde, be thought better, then the wul of a courser sponne thryde? yet they, as though the one did passe the other by nature, and not by their misliyng, auaunce themselues, and thinke

The errour of them that esteeme themselues the more for apparelles sake.

the

the price of their owne persones therebye greatly encreased. And therefore the honour, which in a course gowne they durste not haue loked for, they require, as it were of dewtie, for theyr syluer gownes sake. And if they be passed by without reuerence, they take it displeasauntly and disdainfullye. And agayne is it not a lyke madnes to take a pryde in vayne and vnprofitable honours? for what naturall or trewe pleasure doest thou take of an other mans bare heade, or bowed knees? Will this ease the paine of thy knees, or remedie the phrensie of thy heade? In this ymage of counterfeite pleasure, they be of a marueilous madnesse, whiche for the opinion of nobilitie, reioyse muche in their owne conceyte. Because it was their fortune to come of suche auncetoures, whose stocke of longe tyme hathe bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothinge elles: specially riche in landes. And though their auncetours left them not one foote of lande, or els they themselues haue pylled it agaynste the walles, yet they thinke themselues not

Folish honors.

Vaine nobilitie.

the lesse noble therfore of one heare. In this number also they counte them that take pleasure and delite (as I said) in gemmes and precious stones, and thynke themselues almoost goddes, if they chaunce to gette an excellente one, specially of that kynde, whiche in that tyme of their owne countre men, is had in hyghest estimation. For one kynde of stone kepeth not his price styll in all countreis, and at all times. Nor they bye them not, but taken out of the golde, and bare: no nor so neither, vntyll they haue made the seller to sweare, that he will warraunte and assure it to be a true stone, and no counterfeit gemme. Suche care they take lest a counterfeite stone should deceaue their eyes in steade of a ryghte stone. But why shouldest thou not take euen asmuche pleasure in beholdynge a counterfeite stone, whiche thine eye cannot discerne from a ryghte stone? They shoulde bothe be of lyke value to thee, euen as to the blynde man. What shall I saye of them, that kepe superfluous riches, to take delectation only in

Pleasure in precious stones most folish.

The opinion & fansie of people doth augmente & diminisshe the price and estimation of precious stones.

Beholderes of treasure, not occupyng the same.

in the beholdinge, and not in the vse or occupyinge therof? Do they take trew pleasure, or elles be thei deceaued with false pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrarie vice, hidinge the gold whiche they shall neuer occuppe, nor peraduenture neuer se more? And whiles they take care leaste they shall leese it, do it ese it in dede. For what is it elles, when they hyde it in the ground, takynge it bothe frome their owne vse, and perchaunce frome all other mennes also? And yet thou, when thou haste hydde thy treasure, as one out of all care, hoppest for ioye. The whiche treasure, yf it shoulde chaunce to bee stolen, and thou ignorannt of the theefte shouldest dye tenne yeares after: all that tenne yeares space that thou ignorest after thy money was stolen, what matter was it to thee, whether it hadde bene taken awaye or elles safe as thou lefteste it? Trewlye bothe wayes like profytte came to thee. To theese so foolysshe pleasures they ioyne dicers, whose madnesse they knowe by hearsay, and not by vse. Hunters al-

Ryders of trees sure.

A prettie fleete and a witte.

so, and hawkers. For what pleasure is there (saye they) in castinge the dice vpō a table, which thou hast done so often, that if there wer any pleasure in it, yet the oft vse might make thee werie therof? Or what delite can there be, and not rather displeasure in hearynge the barkynge and howlynge of dogges? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felte, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge? for one thinge is done in bothe, that is to saye, runnynge, yf thou haste pleasure therin. But yf the hope of slaughter, and the expectation of tearynge in peces the beaste both please thee: thou shouldest rather be moued with pitie to see a selye innocente hare murdered of a dogge: the weake of the stronger, the fearefull of the fearce, the innocente of the cruell and vnmercyfull. Therefore all thys exercyse of huntynge, as a thynge vnworthye to be vsed of free men, the Aegyptians haue reiected to their bouchers to the whiche crafte (as we sayde before) they appointe their bondemen.

Dice playe.

Hunteinge and hawkinge.

Hunting the basest parte of bouchers amōg the Aegyptians, and yet this is nowe the exercise of most noble men.

For

For they counte huntynge the lowest, the vyleste, and mooste abiecte parte of boucherie, & the other partes of it more profitable, and more honeste, as bryngynge muche more commoditie, in that they kyll beastes onely for necessitie. Where as the hunter seketh nothinge but pleasure of the seelye and wofull beastes slaughter and murder. The whiche pleasure in beholdinge deathe, they thinke doeth rise in the very beastes, either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be chaunged in continuaunce of time into cruelte, by longe vse of so cruell a pleasure. These therfore and all suche like, whiche be innumerable, though the cõmon sorte of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seing there is no naturall pleasauntnes in thē, do playnly determine them to haue no affinitie with trew and right pleasure. For as touchinge that they do cõmonlye moue the sense wyth delectation (whiche semeth to be a woorke of pleasure) this doeth nothynge diminishe their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their peruerse and lewde

custome is the cause hereof. Whiche causeth them to accept bitter or sowre thynges for swete thynges. Euen as women with child in their viciate and corrupte taste, thynke pytche and tallowe sweter then any honey. Howbeit no mannes iudgemente depraued and corrupte, either by sickenes, or by custome, can chaunge the nature of pleasure, more then it can do the nature of other thinges. They make diuers kindes of pleasures. For some they attribute to the soule, and some to the body. To the soule they geue intelligence, and that delectation, that commethe of the contemplation of trewth. Herevnto is ioyned the pleasaunte remembraunce of the good lyfe paste. The pleasure of the bodye they deuide into ii. partes. The first is when delectatiō is sensibly felt and perceaued. Whiche many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreshing of those partes, which oure naturall heate drieth vp. This commeth by meate and drynke. And sometymes whyles those thynges be expulsed, and voyded. wherof is in the

The kindes of diuers pleasures

The pleasures of the bodye.

body

body ouer great abundaunce. This pleasure is felt, when we do our natural easement, or when we be doyng the acte of generation, or when the pricking of any part is eased with rubbyng or scratchyng. Sometimes pleasure riseth exhibityng to any membre nothyng that it desireth, nor takyng from it any paine that it feeleth, which neuertheless tickleth and moueth ours senses wyth a certeine secrete efficacie, but with a manifest motion turneth them to it. As is that whiche commeth of musicke. The seconde parte of bodely pleasure they say, is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiete, and vprighte state of the body. And that trewlye is euerye mannes owne proper health entermingled and disturbed with no griefe. For this, yf it be not letted nor assaulted with no greif, is delectable of it selfe, thoughe it be moued with no externall or outwarde pleasure. For though it be not so plain and manyfeste to the sense, as the gredye lust of eatyng and dryukyng, yet neuertheless manye take it for the chiefeste pleasure. All the Vtopians

Bodily health.

graunt it to be a right soueraigne plea-
sure, and as you woulde saye the foun-
dation and grounde of all pleasures,
as whiche euen alone is hable to make
the state and condition of life delecta-
ble and pleasaunt. And it beyng once
taken awaye, there is no place lefte for
any pleasure. For to be without greife
not hauinge health, that they call vn-
sensibilitie, and not pleasure. The Vto-
pians haue long a go reiected & con-
demned the opinion of them, whiche
sayde that stedfaste and quiete healthe
(for this question also hathe bene dili-
gently debated amonge them) ought
not therfore to be counted a pleasure,
bycause they saye it can not be presently
and sensiblye perceaued and felte
by some outwarde motion. But of the
contrarie parte nowe they agree al-
moste all in this, that healthe is a
moste soueraigne pleasure. For seynge
that in sycknesse (saye they) is greiffe,
whiche is a mortal enemie to pleasure,
euen as sickenes is to health, why should
not then pleasure be in the quietnes of
healthe? For they say it maketh nothig

to

to this matter, whether you saye that sickenesse is a griefe, or that in sickenes is griefe, for all commethe to one purpose. For whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fier is of heate, truelye bothe wayes it folowethe, that they cannot be without pleasure, that be in perfect helth. Furthermore whiles we eat (say they) then healthe, whiche beganne to be appayred, fighteth by the helpe of foode againste hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by litle and litle getteth the vpper hande, that same procedyng, and (as ye would say) that onwardnes to the wonte strength ministreth that pleasure, wherby we be so refreshed. Healthe therfore, whiche in the conflict is ioyefull, shall it not be mery, when it hath gootten the victorie? But as soone as it hathe recouered the primitiue strength, which thing onely in all the fight it coueted, that it incontinent be astonied? Nor shal it not know nor imbrace the owne wealthe & goodnes? For where it is said, healthe can not be felt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew.

For

For what man waiyng, saye they, ſet leth not himſelfe in health: but he that is not? Is there anye man ſo poſſeſſed with ſtonifhe inſenſiblitie, or with le thargie, that is to ſay, the ſleping ſick nes, that he will not graunt healthe to be acceptable to him, and delectable?

Delectation. But what other thinge is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleaſure? They imbrace

The pleaſures of the mynde. chiefliе the pleaſures of the mind. For them they counte the chiefeſt and moſt principall of all. The chiefe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exercyſe of vertue, & conſcience of good life. Of theſe pleaſures that the body miniſtreth, they geue ꝑ preeminẽce to helth. For the delite of eating & drinking, and whatſoeuer hath any like pleaſauntnes, they determyne to be pleaſures muche to be deſired, but no other wayes than for healthes ſake. For ſuche thinges of their own proper nature be not ſo pleaſaunt, but in that they reſiſte ſickenelle priuelie ſtealing on. Therfore like as it is a wiſe mãs part, rather to auoid ſickenes, then to wiſhe for medicines, and rather to driue away and put to flight

careful

carefull griefes, then to call for comfort: so it is muche better not to haue this kinde of pleasure, then therby to be eased of the contrarie griefe. The whiche kinde of pleasure, yf anye man take for his felicitie, that man muste nedes graunt, that then he shalbe in moste felicitie, if he liue that life, which is led in continuall hunger, thurste, itchinge, eatinge, drynkynge, scratchynge, and rubbing. The which life how not onlye foule, & vnhoneste, but also howe miserable, & wretched it is, who perceiueth not? These doubtles be the baleste pleasures of al, as vnpure & vnperfect. For they neuer come, but accompanied wt their cõtrarie griefes. As wt the pleasure of eating is ioyned hunger, & that after no very egal sort. For of these .ii. griefe is both the more vehemẽt, & also of lõger cõtinuãce. For it beginneth before the pleasure, & endeth not vntil the pleasure die wt it. Wherefore suche pleasures they thinke not greatlye to be set by, but in that thei be necessari. Howbeit they haue delite also in these, & thankfull knowledge vnto the louer of mother nature, which wt

moste

moste pleasaūt delectacion alureth her chyldren to that, to the necessarie vse wherof they must from time to time co tinually be forced and driuen. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these dailie grefes of hunger and thurst coulde not be driuen awaye, but with bitter potions, and sower medicines, as the other diseases be, wherwith we be seldomer troubled? But beutie, strengthe, nemblenes, these as peculiar & pleasaunt gyftes of nature they make much of. But those pleasures that be receaued by the eares, the eyes, and the nose, whiche nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other liuinge creature doth behold the fairenes & the bewtie of the worlde, or is moued with any respecte of sauours, but onely for the diuersitie of meates, neither perceaueth the concordaunte and discordant distaunces of sounds, & tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and alowe as certen pleasaunte relo singes of life. But in all thinges this cautel they vse, that a lesse pleasure hinder not a bigger, & that the pleasure be

The gyftes of nature.

no

no cause of displeasure, whiche they thinke to folow of necessitie, if the pleasure be vnhoneste. But yet to dispise the comlines of bewtie, to wast the bodelie strength, to turne nimblenes into sloughthfulnesse, to consume and make feble the bodie with fastinge, to do iniurie to healthe, and to reiecte the pleasaunte motions of nature, onles a man neglecte these commodities, whiles he dothe with a feruent zeale procure the wealthe of others, or the commen profite, for the whiche pleasure forborne, he is in hoope of a greater pleasure at goddes hande, elles for a vaine shadow of vertue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to punishe himselfe, or to the intente he maye be hable courragiously to suffer aduersitie: whiche perchaunce shall neuer come to him, this to do they thinke it a point of extreame madnes, and a token of a man cruellye minded towardes himselfe, and vnkind towardes nature, as one so disdaining to be in her daunger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefites.

This is their sentence and opinion of vertue and pleasure. And they beleue

that

Marke this well.

that by mans reason none can be found trewer then this, onles any godlyer be inspired into man from heuen. Wherin whether they beleue well or no, neither the time doth suffer vs to discusse neither it is nowe necessarie. For we haue taken vpon vs to shewe and declare their lawes and ordinances, and not to defende them. But this thynge I beleue verely: howe soeuer these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world, neyther a more excellent people, neither a more flourishynge commen wealth. They be lyghte and quicke of bodie, full of actiuitie and nimblenes, and of more strength then a man would iudge them by their stature, which for all that is not to lowe. And thoughe they? soyle be not verie frutefull, nor their aier very wholsome, yet againste the ayer they so defende them with temperate diete, and so order and husbande their grounde with diligente trauaile, that in no countrey is greater increase, and plentye of corne and cattell, nor mens bodies of longer lyfe, and subiect

The wealthye description of the Utopians.

or apte to kewer diseases. Where therfore a man maye see well, and diligentlie exploited and furnished, not onelye those thinges whiche husvandemen do comenly in other countreis, as by craft and cunninge to remedie the barrennes of the grounde: but also a whole wood by the handes of the people plucked vp by the rootes in one place, & set againe in an other place. Wherein was had regard and consideration, not of pleasy, but of cõmodious carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the riuers, or, ỹ cities. For it is lesse laboure and businesse to carrie grayne farre by land, than wood. The people be gentle, merie, quicke, and fyne witted, delitinge in quietnes, & when nede requireth, hable to abide & suffer much bodelie labour. Els they be not greatly desirous & fond of it: but in the exercise & studie of the mind they be neuer werye. Whē they had herd me speak of ỹ greke literature or lernig (for in latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly allow, besides historiens & Poetes) they made wonderfull earnest

The delite of the greke tõge.

earnestie and importunate sute vnto me that I would teach & instructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade vnto them at the first cruelie more bicause I would not seme to refuse the labour, then that I hoped that they would any thing profite therin. But when I had gone forward a litle, I perceaued incontinente by their diligence, that my labour should not be bestowed in vaine. For they began so easelie to fashion their letters, so plainlie to pronounce the woordes, so quickelie to learne by hearte, and so suerlie to rehearse the same, that I marualed at it, sauinge that the most parte of them were fine, and chosen wittes, and of ripe age, puled oute of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but also by the commaundemente of the counsell, vndertoke to learne this langage. Therefore in lesse thē thre yeres space there was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute anis staye, if the booke were not

A wonderfull aptnes to learninge in the Utopians.

But now most blockheded asses be lette to learninge, and most pregnāt wittes corrupte with pleasures

not faile. This kynde of learninge, as I suppose, they toke so muche the sooner, because, it is somwhat allyaunte to them. For I thinke that this nation toke their beginninge of the Grewes, because their speche, which in al other poyntes is not much unlyke the Persi an tonge, kepeth dyuers signes and tokens of the greke langage in the names of their cityes, and of theire magistrates. They haue of me (for when I was determyned to entre into my .xiii. voyage, I caste into the shippe in the steade of marchādise a prety fardel of bookes, because I intended to come againe rather neuer, than shortly) they haue, I saye, of me the moste parte of Platoes bookes, more of Aristocles, also Theophrastus of plantes, but in diuers places (which I am sorye for) unperfecte. For whiles we were a shipborde, a marmoset chaunced upon the booke, as it was negligently layde by, which wantonlye playinge therewyth plucked oute certeyne leaues, and tooke them in pieces. Of them that haue wrytten the grammer, they haue one-

lye Lascaris. For Theodorus I carried not with me, nor neuer a dictionarye, but Helichius, & Dioscorides. They sett greate store by Plutarches bookes. And they be delyted with Lucianes mery conceytes and iestes. Of the Poetes they haue Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus small print. Of the Historians they haue Thucidides, Herodotus, & Herodian. Also my companion, Articius Apinatus caried with him phisick bokes, certein syral woorkes of Hippocrates, and Galenes Microtechne.

Phisicke highly regarded.

The whyche boke they haue in greate estimatiō. For thoughe there be almost no nation vnder heauen that hath lesse nede of Phisicke then they, yet this not withstandyng, Phisicke is no where in greater honour. Because they counte the knowledge of it among the goodlyeste, and most profytable partes of Philosophie. For whyles they by the helpe of this Philosophie searche out the secrete mysterys of nature, they thinke themselfes to receaue therby not onlye wonderfull greate pleasure, but also to

obteine

obteine great thākes and fauour of the
autour & maker therof. whome they
thinke accordīg to ỹ faith of other arti
ficers, to haue set furth the maruelous
ỹ gorgious fraime of the world for ma
we great affectid inteētiuely to beholde,
whom only he hath made of witte, &
capacitie to cōsidre & vnderstand the ex
cellēcie of so great a worck. And there-
fore he beareth (say they) more goodwil
& loue to the curious & diligent beholder & vewer of his worck & maruelous
artheiame, thē he doth to hī, which like
a very brute beaste without witte and
reaō, or as one without sēse or mouīg,
hathe no regarde to soo greate and soo
wonderfull a spectacle. The wittes
therefore of the Utopians inureed and
exercised in learnynge, be maruelous
quycke in the inuention of feates hel-
pinge annye thinge to the aduantage
and wealthe of lyfe. Howbeit they fea-
tes theye maye thanke vs for. That is,
the sciēce of imprintīg, and the craf-
te of makinge paper. And yet not one-
lye vs but chiefelye and principallye
themselues.

The contēm
placion of na
ture.

For whē we shewede to thē Aldus his
print in bookes of paper, and told them
of the stuffe wherof paper is made, and
of the feate of grauing letters, speakig
sum what more, then we colde plainlye
declare (for there was none of vs, that
knewe perfectlye either the one or the
other) they furthwith very wittely ob-
iectured the thinge. And where as be-
fore they wrote onely in skinnes, in bar-
kes of trees, & in rides, nowe they haue
attempted to make paper, & to imprint
letters. And thoughe at the first yt pro-
ued not all of the beste, yet by often as-
sayinge the same they shortelye got the
feate of bothe. And haue so brought
the matter aboute, that yf they had co-
pyes of Greeke authores, they coulde
lacke no bookes. But nowe they
haue no moore, thē I rehearsed before,
sauinge that by printynge of bookes
they haue multiplyed and increased the
same into manye thousandes of copies.
Whosoeuer cummethe thether to see
the londe, bringe excellent in anye gifte
of wytte, or througe muche and longe
iourninge wel experienced and sene in

the

the knowelege of many countreies (for the whyche cause wee were very welcome to them) then they receyue and intertayne wonders gentilly, & louingly. For they haue delite to heare what is done in euerye lande, howbeit verye fewe marchaunte men come thether. For what shoulde they bring thether, onles it were Iron, or els gold and syluer, whiche they haue rather carrye home agayne? Also such thinges as are to be carryed oute of theire lande, they thinke it more wysedome to carry that grre further themselues, then that other shoulde come thether to fetche it. So thentrute they maye the better knowe the out landes on euerye syde of them, and kepe in vre the feate and knowledge of sailinge.

Of Bondemen, sicke persons, wedlocke, and diuers other matters.

A merueilous equitie of this nation.

They neither make bondemen of prisoners taken in battayle, oneles it be in battayll that they foughte themselfes, nor of bondmens children, nor to be shorte, of anye suche as they cann gette out of forreine countries, though he were theire a boudman. But either suche, as amonge themselfes for heinous offences be punyshed with bondage, or elles suche, as in the Cities of other landes for greate trespasses be condempned to deathe. And of this sort of boudemen they haue moofte store. For manye of them they bringe home sumtimes payinge very lytle for them, yea moofte commonlye gettynge them for gramercye. These sortes of bondemen they kepe not onelye in continuall woorke & labour, but also in bandes. But their ounne men they bayle hardest, whom they Judge more desperate, & to haue deserued greater punishemente, bycause they being so godlye brought

vp

by to vertue in soo excelēte a common wealth, could not for all that be refreined from mysdoing. An other kinde of bondemē they haue, whē a vile drudge being a poore labourer in an other countrey doth chuese of his owne free wyll to be a bondmā amōg thē. These they intreate verye honestly, & enterteine almoste as gētelye, as theire owne free cytyzens, saynge that they put them to a lyttle more labour, as thereto accustomed. Yf anye suche, be disposed to departe thens (whiche seldome is seene) they neither holde him againste his wyll, neither sende him away with emptye hāndes. The sycke (as I sayde) they see to wt great affection, and lette nothīg at al passe cōcernīg either Physycke or good diete, whereby they may be restored agayle to their health. Such as be sicke of incurable diseases they comforte with sittinge by them, with talkinge with them, and to be shorte with all maner of helpes that may be. But yf the disease be not onelye vncurable, but also full of contynuall payne and anguishe: then the

Of them that be sicke.

prieſtes and the magiſtrates exhort the man, ſeinge he is not hable to doo anye dewtye of lyfe, and by ouerlyuinge his owne deathe is noyſome and irkeſome to other, and greuous to himſelfe: that he wyl determine with himſelfe no longer to cheryſhe that peſtilet and peineful diſeaſe. And ſeinge his lyfe is to him but a tormente, that he wyl not bee vnwillinge to dye, but rather take a good hope to him. & either diſpatche himſelfe out of that paynefull lyfe, as out of a priſon, or a tacke of tormente, or elles ſuffer himſelfe wyllingelye to be ryddе oute of it by other. And in ſo doinge they tell him he ſhall doo wyſely, ſeing by his deathe he ſhall liſe no commoditye, but ende his payne. And bycauſe in that acte he ſhall followe the counſel of the prieſtes, that is to ſaye, of the interpreters of goddes wyll & pleaſure, they ſhewe him that he ſhall do lyke a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus perſuaded, finyſhe theire liues wyllyngelye, either with hunger, or elles dye in theire ſleape without anye feaſing of deathe. But they cauſe none ſuche

Wolunta|ye deathe.

ſuche to dye agaynſte his wyll, nor they vſe no leſſe diligence and attendaunce abonte him: beleuinge this to be an honorable deathe. Elles he that killeth himſelfe before that the prieſtes and the counſel haue allowed the cauſe of his deathe, him as vnworthy either to be buryed, or with fier to be conſumed, they caſte vnburied into ſome ſtinkinge marrish. The woman is not maried before ſhe be xviii yeres olde. The man is tiij yeres elder before he marye. If either the man or the woma be proued to haue actually offended before theire marriage, with an other, the partye that ſo hathe treſpaced is ſharpelye puniſhed. And bothe the offenders be forbidden euer after in al theire lyfe to marrye: onelesse the fauite be forgeuen by the princes pardone. But bothe the good man and the good wyfe of the houſe, where that offēſe was cōmitted, as beinge ſlacke and negligent in loking to theire charge, be in daunger of greate reproche and infamye. That offenſe is ſo ſharpely punyſhed, becauſe they perceaue, that onles they be diſ

Of wedlocke.

gentlye kepte from the libertye of this vice, fewe wyll ioyne together in the loue of marriage, wherein all the lyfe muste be led with one, and also all the griefes and displeasures comming therewith pacientlye be taken & borne. Furthermore in chuesinge wyues and husbandes they obserue carefully and straytelye a custome, whiche semed to vs very fonde and folyshe. For a sad & an honest matrone sheweth the woma. be she mayde or widdowe, naked to the wower. And lykewyse a sage and discrete man exhibyteth the wower naked to the woman. At this custome we laughed, and disalowed it as foolishe. But they on the other part doo greatlye wonder at the follye of al other nations, whyche in byinge a colte, whereas a lytle money is in hasarde, be so charye and circumspecte, that thoughe he be almoste all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, oneles the saddel and all the harneies be taken of, leaste vnder those couerynges be hydde some galle or soore. And yet in chuesinge a wyfe, whyche shalbe either pleasure, or

Thoughe not herein honestly, yet not vnlykelye

a displeasure to them all their lyke after, they be so recheles, that al the residewe of the woomans bodye beinge couered with cloothes, they esteme her selfe lye be one handebreadth (for they can se no more but her face) and so to ioyne her to them not without greate hoperdye of euel agreinge together, yf any thing in her body afterward should chaunce to offend and mysplyke them. For all men be not so wyse, as to haue respecte to the vertuous conditions of the partie. And the endowmentes of the bodye cause the vertues of the minde more to be esteemed and regarded: yea euen in the mariages of wyse men. Merely so foule deformitie maye be hydde vnder those coueringes, that it maye quite alienate & take awaye the mans mynde from his wyfe, when it shal not be lawful for their bodies to be seperate agayne. If suche deformitie happen by any chaunce after the mariage is consumate and finyshed, wel, there is no remedie but patience. Euery man must take his fortune wel a worthe. But it were wel done that a lawe were made

whereby

wherebye all suche deceytes myghte be eschewed, and auoyded before hande. And this were they constreyned more earnestlye to looke vpon, because they onlye of the nations in that parte of the worlde bee contente euerye man with one wyfe a piece. And matrymonie is there neuer broke, but by deathe excepte adulterye breake the bonde, or els the intollerable wayewarde maners of either partye. For if either of them finde themselfe for any such cause greued: they maye by the licence of the counsel chaunge and take another.

Divorcement.

But the other partie lyueth euer after in infampe, and out of wedlocke. Howbeit the husbande to put away his wife for no other faulte, but for that some mysshappe is fallen to her bodye, this by no meanes they will suffre. For they iudge it a great poynt of crueltie, that anye body in their moste neede of helpe and comforte, shoulde be caste of and forsaken, and that olde age, whyche both bringeth sickenes with it, and is a sickenes it selfe, should vnkindly and vnfaythfullye be delte withall. But nowe

nowe and then it chaunseth, where as the man and the woman cannot well agree betwene themselfes, both of them fyndinge other, with whome they hope to lyue more quietlye and merylye, that they by the full consente of them bothe be diuorsed a sonder and maried againe to other. But that not without the authoritie of the counsell. Whiche agreeth to no diuorses, before they and their wyfes haue diligently tried & examyned the matter. Yea & also they be lothe to consent to it, because they know this to be the next way to breake loue betwene man and wyfe, to be in easye hope of a new mariage. Breakers of wedlocke be punyshed with moste grieuous bondage. And if both the offenders were maried, then the parties whiche in that behalfe haue sufferede wrong, beinge diuorsed from the auoutrers, be maried together, if they wille, or els to whom they lust. But if either of them both do styl continewe in loue towarde so vnkinde a bedfellowe, the vse of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partye faultelesse be disposed

to

to followe in toplinge and vnd-
gerye the perſon, which for that offen-
ce is condempned to bondage. And ve-
ry ofte it chaunceth that the repentall-
ce of the one, and the earneſte diligence
of the other, dothe ſo moue the prince
with pytie and compaſſion, that he re-
ſtoreth the bonde perſone from ſeruit-
tude to libertie and fredom again. But
if the ſame partie be taken eftſones in
that faulte, there is no other waye but
death. To other treſpaces no preſcripe
punichmente is appoynted by anye
lawe. But accordinge to the heynoulne-
ties of the offenſe, or contrarye, ſo the
punichemente is moderated by the diſ-
cretion of the counſell. The huſban-
des chaſtice theire wyues: and the pa-
rentes theire children, oneles they ha-
ue done anye ſo horrybie an offenſe,
that the open punychemente thereof
maketh muche for the aduaunceme nte
of honeſte maners. But moſte com-
menlye the moſte heynous faultes be
punyſhed with the incommoditie of
bondage. For that they ſuppoſe to be to
the offenders no leſſe griefe, and to the
common

The decernig of punichmēt putte to the diſcretion of the magiſtra-tes.

common wealth more profit, then yf they should hastely put them to death, & so make them quite out of the waye. For there cumeth more profit of theire labour, then of theire deathe, and by theire example they feare other the longer from lyke offenses. But if they beinge thus vsed, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forsothe they be slayne as desperate and wilde beastes, whom neither prison nor chaine coulde restraine and kepe vnder. But they, whiche take theire bondage patientlye, be not lefte all hopeles. For after they haue ben broken and tamed with longe miseries, if then they shewe such repentaunce, as therebye it maye bee perceaued that they be sorier for theire offense then for theire punyshemente: sumtymes by the Princes prerogatyue, and sumtymes by the voyce and consent of the people, theire bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane released and forgeuen. He that moueth to aduoutrye is in no lesse daunger and ieoperdie, then yf he hadde committed aduoutrye in dede. For in all offenses they

Motion to aduoutrye punished.

counte

rounte the intente and pretensed purpose as cruel, as the arte or dede it selfe, thinking that no lette oughte to excuse him, that did his beste to haue no lette. They haue singular delite & pleasure in foles. And as it is a greate reproche to do to anye of them hurte or iniury, so they prohibite not to take pleasure of foolysshnes. For that, they thinke, dothe muche good to the fooles. And if any man be so sadde, and sterne, that he cannot laughe neither at their worses, nor at their dedes, none of them be committed to his tuition: for feare least he would not intreate the gentilly and honorably enough: to whom they shoulde bringe no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) muche lesse anye profite shoulde they yelde him. To mocke a man for his deformitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or lymme of his bodye, is counted greate dishonestye and reproche, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which vnwyssely doth imbrayde anye man of that as a vice, that was not in his powre to eschewe. Also as they

pleasure of fooles.

counte

vnnite and reken verye litell witte to be in him, that regardeth not naturall hewtie and comlinesse, so to helpe the same with paynetinges, is taken for a shame and a wanton pryde, not without greate infamie. For they knowe well by very experience, that no comlinesse of beautye doethe so hyghelye commende and auaunce the wiues in the conceite of their husbandes, as honest conditions and lowlines. For as loue is oftetimes wonne with beawtie, so it is not kept, preserued, and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They do not onely feare their people from doing euil by punishmentes, but also allure them to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therfore they set vp in the markette place the ymages of notable men of such as haue bene great benefactors to the comen wealth, for a perpetual memorie of their good actes: also that the glory of renowme of the auncetors maye spyre and prouoke their posteritie to vertue. He that inordinatly & ambitiously desireth promotions, is left al hopeles for euer at-

Counterfeite beawtie.

Sinne punished & vertue rewarded.

The lawfull desire of honours taken away.

desiring any promotion as long as he liueth. They lyue together louingly. For no magistrate is eyther hawte or fearfull. Fathers they be called, & eyght fathers they vse themselues. The citizens (as it is their dewtie) willyngly exhibite vnto them due honour without any compulsion. Nor the prince himselfe is not knowē from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of state, nor by a crown or diademe royal, or cap of maintenaunce, but by a litle sheffe of corne carried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before ỹ bishop, whereby he only he is knowen. They haue but few lawes. For to people so instructed and instituted very fewe do suffice. Yea this thing they chiefely reproue amōg other nations, that innumerable bookes of lawes & expositions vpō the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right & iustice that men should be bounde to those lawes, which either be in number mo then be able to be redde, or els blinder & darker, then that anye mā can well vnderstande thē. Furthermore they vtterly exclude and banishe

Magistrates honoured.

Fewe lawes.

The multitude of lawyers superfluous.

all

all attorneis, proctours, & sergeauntes
at the lawe: whiche craftely handell
matters, & subtelly dispute of the law.
For they thinke it moste meete, that
euery mã should pleade his owne matter,
& tel the same tale before the iudge
that he would tel to his mã of law. So
shal there be lesse circumstaunce of wor-
des, and the trueth shall sooner come to
light, while the iudge with a discrete
iudgement doeth weye the wordes of
him, whom no lawyer hath instructe wt
craft, & whiles he helpeth and beareth
out simple wittes against the false and
malicious circumuentions of craftie
children. This is harde to be obserued
in other countreis, in so infinite a num-
ber of blinde & intricate lawes. But in
Utopia euery mã is a cunning lawier.
For as (I said) they haue very few lawes,
and the plainer and grosser that any
interpretation is: that they allowe
for moste iuste. For all lawes (saie they)
may be made and published onely to the ma-
inte, that by them euery man should
be put in remembraunce of his dueties.
But the craftye and subtill interpre-

The intent of lawes.

lation of them (for a fewe can attayne thereto) canne put perpetuall in that remembraunce, where as the simple, the plaine, and grosse meaninge of the lawes is open to euerye man. Elles as touchinge the vulgare sort of the people, whiche be bothe mooste in number, and haue moste neede to knowe their dewties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bringe so harde an interpretation vpon it, that without greate witte and longe argumente no man can diuine it? To the vnderstandinge whereof neyther the grosse iudgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in woorkinge for their liuinges, canne suffice thereto. These vertues of the Vtopians haue caused their nexte neighboures and borderers, whiche liue free and vnder no subiection (for the Vtopians longe ago, haue deliuered manye of them from tirannie) to take magistrates of them, some for a yeare, and some for fiue yeares space. Which whe the tyme of their office is expired, they bring

bringe home againe with honoure and prayse, and take new againe with them into their countrey. These nations haue vndoubtedlye very well and politomely prouided for their common wealthes. For leynge that bothe the makinge and mayntenaunce of the weale publique, doeth depende and hange vpon the maners of the rulers and magistrates, what officers coulde they more aptelye haue chosen, then those which can not be lerned from honestye by bribes (for to them that shortly after shal departe thence into their own countrey money shoulde be vnprofitable) nor yet be moued eyther with fauoure, or malice towardes any man, as beyng strangers, and vnacquainted with the people? The whiche two vices of affectio and auarice, where they take place in iudgementes, incontinente they breake iustice, the strongest and surest bonde of a common wealth. These peoples whiche fetche their officers and rulers from them, the Vtopians cal their fellowes. And other to whome they haue done beneficiall, they call their

Of leagues.

frendes. As touching leagues, which in other places betwene countrey & countrey be so ofte concluded, broken, and renewed, they neuer make none with anie nation. For to what purpose serue leagues, say they? As though nature had not set sufficient loue betwene man and man? And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for wordes? They be brought into this opinion chiefelye, because that in those partes of the worlde, leagues betweue princes be wont to be kepte and obserued very shrewderly. For here in Europa, & especiallye in these partes where the faith and religion of Christe reigneth, the maiestie of leagues is euery where esteemed holy & inuiolable: partlie through the iustice and goodnes of princes, and partlye at the reuerence & motion of the heade Bishops, which like as they make no promisse themselues, but they do verye religiouslye performe the same, so they exhorte all princes in any wise to abide by their promisses, & them that refuse or denye so to do, by their pontificall powre, and authoritie they

they compell thereto. And surely they thinke well that it might seme a verye reproche full thing, yf in the leagues of them which by a peculiare name be called faithful, faith should haue no place. But in that newe founde parte of the world, which is scarcelie so farre frome vs beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and maners be dissident frō theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo and holier ceremonies the league is knitte vp with, the soner it is broken by some cauillation founde in the wordes, which many times of purpose be so craftelie put in, and placed, that the bandes cā neuer be so sure nor so stronge, but they will finde some hole ope to crepe out at, and to breake both league and treuth. The whiche crafte dealing, yea the whiche fraude and deceite, if they should know it to be practised among priuate me in their bargat mes & contractes, they would incōtinēt crie out at it with an ope mouth, and a lower countenaūce, as an offense moste detestable, and worthye to be punny-

shed with a shamefull deathe: yea truely very they that auaunce themselues authours of lyke counsell geuen to princes. Wherfore it may wel be thought, either that al iustice is but a balde and a lowe vertue, and which auaileth it self farre vnder the highe dignitie of kynges: Or at the least wise, that there be two iustices, the one meete for the inferiour sorte of the people, goynge a foote and creppynge lowe by the grounde, and bounde down on euery side with many bandes, by cause it shall not run at rouers. The other a princelye vertue, which like as it is of much hyghet maiestie, then the other poore iustice, so also it is of muche more libertie, as to the which nothing is vnlawfull that it lusteth after. These maners of princes (as I said) whiche be there so euell keepers of leagues, cause the Vtopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at al, which perchaūce would chaunge their minde if they lined here. Howbeit they thinke that thoughe leagues be neuer so faithfullye obserued & kepte, yet the custome of makynge leagues was

verie

very euell begon. For this causeth men (as though nations which be seperat & deuyd by ꝑ space of a litle hil or a riuer, were coupled together by no societie & bonde of nature) to thinke themselues borne aduersaries and enemies one to an other, & that it were lawfull for the one to seke the death and destructiō of the other, if leagues were not: yea, & that after ꝑ leagues be accorded, frendshep doth not grow & encrese: But the licence of robbing & stealing doth stil remaine, as farforth as for lack of forsight & aduisement in writing the wordes of the league, any sentēce or clause to the contrarie is not therin sufficientlie comprehended. But they be a of contrarye opinion. That is, that no man ought to be counted an enemye, whiche hath done no iniurye. And that the felowshippe of nature is a stronge league: and that men be better & more surely knit togethers by loue and beneuolence, the by couenaūtes of leagues: by hartie affection of minde, then by wordes.

The seconde booke

Of warfare.

Warre or battel as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kinde of beastes in so muche vse as to man, they do detest and abhorre. And contrarie to the custome almoste of all other nations, they counte nothynge so much against glorie, as glorie gotten in warre. And therefore thoughe they do daylie practise and exercise themselues in the discipline of warre, and not onelie the men, but also the women vpon certen appointed dates, lest they should be to seke in the feate of armes, if nede should require, yet they neuer go to battell, but either in the defence of their owne countrey, or to driue out of their frendes lande the enemies that haue inuaded it, or by their power to deliuer from the pocke and bondage of tirannye some people, that be therewith oppressed, which thing they do of meere

pitye

pitie and compassion. For albeit they lende helpe to their frendes, not euer in their defence: But sometymes also to requite and reuenge iniuries before to them done. But this they do not onlesse their counsell and aduise in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet newe and freshe. For if they finde the cause probable, and if the contrarie part will not restoore agayne suche thynges as be of them iustelye demaunded, then they be the chiefe autours and maisters of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by inrodes and inuasions of soldiours praies and bootes be driuen awaye, but then also muche more mortally, when their frendes marchaūtes in ani lande, either vnder the pretence of vniuste lawes or elles by the wrestinge & wronge vnderstandinge of good lawes, do sustaine an vniuste accusation vnder the colour of iustice. Neither the battell whiche the Vtopians fought for the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitanes a litle before oure time was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelogete marchaūt men, as the

Vtopians

Utopie thought, suffred wrong of the Alaopolitanes, vnder the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wronge, it was with so cruel & mortal warre reuenged, the colleres roūd about lopninge their helpes powre to the purlaunce and malice of bothe parties, that moste flourishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them ouerthrowen, some of the sharpely beaten, the mischeues wer not finished nor ended, vntil the Alaopolitanes, at the last were pelded vp as bondemen into the iurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the Utopians fought not this warre for themselues. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them. So egerlye the Utopians prosequute the iniuries done to their frendes: yea, in money matters, and not their owne likewise. For if they by conepne or gile be wiped beside their goodes, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreake their anger by abstetninge from occupieng with that nation, vntil they haue

made

haue satisfaction. Not forbicause they
are lesse roore by their owne citizens,
but by their frendes: but that they take
the losse of their frendes money more hea-
uily the ꝑ losse of their owne. Bicause
that their frendes marchaunte men,
sustaineth as that they leese is their
own priuate goods, sufferne great dam
mage by the losse. But their owne ci-
tizens leese nothing but of the cõmen
goods, & of that whiche was at home
plentifull and almost superfluous, els
had it not bene lent furth. Therfore no
man feleth the losse. And for this cause
they thinke it to cruell an acte, to re-
uenge that losse with the deathe of ma-
ne. the incommodite of the whiche losse
no man feeleth neither in his lyfe, nor
yet in his liuing. But if it chaunce that
any of their men in any other countrey
be maimed or killed, whether it be done
by a cõmen or a priuate counsel, knowe-
ing & trying out the trueth of the mat-
ter by their ambassadours, onelesse the
offenders be rendered vnto them in re-
compence of the iniurie, they will not
be appeased: but incontinent they pro-
claime

nature warre against them. The offen-
ders yelded, they punishe eyther with
death, or with bondage. They be not
only lazy, but also ashamed to atchieue
the victorie with bloodshed, counting
it greate folye to hie precious warre to
here. They reioyce and auaunt themsel-
ues, if they vanquishe & oppresse their
enemies by craft and decette. And for
that acte they make a generall triumph,
and as yf the matter were manfully
handeled, they set vp a pyller of stone
in the place where they so vanquished
their enemies, in token of the victorie.
For then they glorie, then they boaste,
and cracke that they haue played the
men in deede, when they haue so ouer-
comen, as no other liuing creature but
onely man could: that is to saye, by the
mighte and puissaunce of wit. For with
bodily strength (say they) beares, lions,
bores, wulfes, doggs, and other wilde
beastes do fight. And as the moste part
of them do passe vs in strength & fierce
courage, so in wit & reason we be much
stronger then they all. Their chief and
principall purpose in warre, is to ob-

teine

Victorie deare bought.

enimie that thynge, whiche if they had before obteined, they woulde not haue moued battell. But if that be not possible, they take so cruell vengeaunce of them whiche be in the faulte, that euer after they be afeard to do the like.

This is their chiefe and principall entent, whiche they immediatlie and first of al prosequute, and setforwarde. But yet so, that they be more circumspecte to auoidinge and eschewynge ieopardies, then they be desirous of prayse and renowne. Wherefore immediatlye after that warre is ones solemnelie denounced, they procure many proclamations signed with their owne common seale to be set vp privilie at one time in their enemies lande, in places most frequented. In these proclamations they promise greate rewardes to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and somewhatielle gifftes, but them verye greate also, for euerye heade of them, whose names be in the saide proclamations contepned. They be those whom they coūt their chiefe aduersaries, next vnto the prince. Whatsoeuer is prefer

red

bed vnto him that killeth any of the pro
claimed persons, that in publick to him
that bringeth anye of the same to the al
liue: yea & to the proclaimed persons
themselues, if they will chaunge their mi
des, & come into them, taking their par
tes, they profer the same greate rewar
des with pardone, and swertie of their
liues. Therfore it quickly commeth to
passe that their enemies haue all other
men in suspicion, & be vnfaithfull, and
mistrusting among themselues one to an
other, liuing in great feare, and in no
lesse ieopardie. For it is well knowen,
that diuers times the most part of thē
is specially the prince him selfe hath
bene betrated of them in who they put
their moste hope & trust. So that there
is no maner of act not bede that gifte
and rewardes do not enforce men vnto.
And in rewardes they kepe no mea
sure. But remēbring & considering in
to how great hasarde & ieopardie they
cal them, endeuoure themselues to re
compence the greatnes of the daunger
with like great benefites. And there
fore they promise not only wonderful
great

greate abundaunce of golde, but also
ranges of greate reuenues lieng in moste
sure places among theire frendes.
And theire promisses they performe
faythfully without anye fraude or
gyle. This custome of byinge
and sellynge aduersaryes among other
people is dysallowed, as a cruel acte
of a base and a cowardy sprite.
But they in this behalfe thinke them-
selues muche prayse worthy, as who
by theyr wyse men by this meanes dis-
patche greate warres without anye
battell or skyrmyshe. Yea they counte
it also a deede of pytye and mercye, bi-
cause that by the deathe of a fewe
offenders the lyues of a greate num-
bre of innocentes, aswel of theire owne
men as also of theire enemies be raun-
somed & saued, which in fighting shou-
ld haue bene sleane. For they doo no
lesse pytye the base and common sorte
of theire enemies people, then they doo
theire owne: knowing, that they be driuen
& enforced to warre againste their wil-
les by the furyous madnes of theire
princes and heades. Yf by none of these

meanes the matter goo forwarde, as they woulde haue it, then they procure occasyons of debate, and dissention to be spredde amonge theire enemies. As by bringinge the princes brother, or some of the noble men in hoope to obtayne the kingedome. Yf this waye preuayle not, then they reyse vp the people that be nexte neyghbours and borderers to theire enemyes, and them they sette in theire neckes vnder the coloure of some olde cyele of ryghte, suche as kynges doo neuer lacke. To them they promyse theire helpe and ayde in theire warre. And as for money they gyue them abundaunce. But of theire owne cyttyzeins they lende to them fewe or none. Whome they make so much of, and loue so intierlye, that they would not be willig to chaunge a nye of the for theire aduersaryes prince. But theire gold and syluer, bycause they kepe it all for this only purpose, they kepe it owte frankly and freely: as who shoulde lyue euen as wealthely, if they hadde bestowed it euerye penny. Yea and belyues theire ryches, whyche they

they kepe at home, thei haue also an infinite treasure abrode, by reason that (as I sayde before) manye nations be in their debte. Therefore they hyre soldiours oute of all countreis and sende them to battaile, but cheifly of the Zapoletes. This people is .500. myles from Utopia eastewarde. They be hideous, sauage, and fierce, dwellynge in wild woodes and high mountaines, where they were bredde & brought vp. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and sustaine heate, colde, & labour, abhorrynge from all delicate deintyes, occupyenge no husbandrye nor tyllage of the ground, homelye and rude both in the buildinge of their houses & in their apparrel, geuen vnto no goodnes, but onelye to the breedinge & bringynge vp of cattel. The moste parte of their lyuinge is by huntynge and stealynge. They be borne onelye to warre, whyche they diligentlye and earnestlye seke for. And when they haue gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They goo furthe of theire countreye in greate companyes toge-

ther, and who soeuer lacketh soudy-
ours, there they proffer theire seruice
for small wages. This is onelye the
craft that they haue to gette theire li-
uynge by. They mayntayne theire ly-
fe, bylekinge theire deathe. For them
whomewyth they be in wayges they
fyghte hardelye, fyerslye, and kayther-
fullye. But they bynde themselues
for no certeyne tyme. But vpon this
condition they entre into bondes, that
the nexte daye they wyll take parte
with the other syde for greatter wag-
ges, and the nexte daye after that, they
wyll be readye to come backe againe
for a lytle more money. There be fe-
we warres thereabaye, wherin is not
a greate numbre of them in bothe par-
tyes. Therefore it dayelye chaunceth
that nye kynsefolke whyche were hi-
red together on one parte, and there
verye frendelye and familiarlye vsed
themselues one wyth another, shortely
after beinge separate into contrarye
parties, runne one againste another
ruynouslye and fyercelye: and forget-
tinge bothe kindred and frendeshyppe,

thruste

thynke theire lyues one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hyred of contrary princes for a lytle money. Whyche they doo to byghlye regarde and esteame, that they will easelye be prouoked to chaunge parties for a halfepenye more wages by the daye. So quyckelye they haue taken a smacke in couetesenes, whyche for all that is to them no profyte. For that they gette by spyll ynge, immedyateiye they spende vnthryftelye and wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fighteth for the Vtopians agaynste all nations, bycause they geue them greatter wages, then anye other nation wyll. For the Vtopians lyke as they seke good men to vse wel, so they seke these euell and vicious men to abuse. Whome, when neade requirethe, with promisses of greate rewardes they putte forthe into great ieoparpes. From whens the moofte parte of them neuer cummeth againe to aske their rewardes. But to them that remaine alyue they pape ỳ which they promisfed faithfully, that they maye be

the more willinge to put themselues in like daunger another time. For ỹ Utopianes passe not how many of the they bring to destruction. For they beleue ỹ they should doo a verye good deade for all mankinde, if they could ridde out of ỹ worlde all that lowle stinking dennes of that most wicked and cursed people. Next vnto thies they vse ỹ soldiours of them for whom they fighte. And the the helpe of their other frendes. And laste of all, they ioyne to their owne citizens. Emong whom they giue to one of excedinge vertue & prowes the reule, gouernaunce, & conduction of the whole armye. Vnder him they appointe ij. other, whyche, whyles he is sauffe, be bothe priuate and oute of office. But yf he be taken or slayne, the one of the other. ij. succedeth hym, as it were by inherytaunce. And if the seconde miscarrye, then the thirde taketh his rowme, leaste that (as the chaunce of battell is vncerteine and doubtful) the ieopardye or deathe of the capitaine shoulde bringe the whole armye in hasarde. They chuese soldyours out

of

of euery cite those, whych putte fur-
the themselues wyllynge lye. For they
thruste no man forthe into warre a-
gaynste his wyll. Because they be-
leue, yf anye man be fearefull and
fainteharted of nature, he wyll not
onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte
hym selfe, but also be occasyon of cow-
ardenes to his fellowes. But if an-
ye battell be maye agaynste theire
owne countreye, then they putt theis
cowardes (so that they be stronge bo-
dyed) in shyppes amonge other bolde
harted men. Or elles they dyspose
the vpon the walles from whens they
maye not flye. Thus what for sha-
me that theire enemies be at hande,
and what for because they be without
hope of runninge awaye, they forgette
all feere. And manye times extreame
necessitye turnethe cowardnes into pro
wes and manlynes. But as none of
the is thruste forthe of his countreye into
warre againste his wyll, so women
that be wyllynge to accompany theire
husbandes in times of warre be not
prohibited or letted. Yea they prouoke

and exhorte them to it with prayers. And in set fyght the wyues doo stande euerye one by theire owne husbandes syde. Also euery man is compassed nere about with his owne children, kinsfolkes, and alliaunce. That they, whom nature chiefely moueth to mutual succour, thus standynge together, maye iealpe one another. It is a great reproche, & dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wife, or the wyfe without her husbande, or the sonne without his father. And therfore if the other part sticke so harde by it, that the battel come to their hãdes, it is fought with great slaughter & bloudshed, euen to the vtter destruction of both partes. For as they make all the meanes and shyftes that maye be to kepe themselfes from the necessitye of fyghtinge, or that they may dispatche the battell by their hiered soldyours: so whē there is no remedy, but that they muste neades fight themselfes, then they do as courragiously fall to it, as before, whyles they myght, they did wisely auoyde & refuse it. For they be not most fierce at

the

the first brunt. But in cõtinuaunce by litle and litle their fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne and obstynate myndes, that they will rather dye then gyue backe an ynche. For that feerfull of lyuinge, whiche euery man hath at home beinge ioyned with noo carefull anxietye or remembraunce how their posteritie shall lyue after them (for this pensifnes oftentymes breaketh the and abateth couragious stomakes) maketh them stowte and hardye and disdaineful to be conquered. Moreouer their knowlenge in chenalrye and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope. Finally the wholesome and vertuous opinions, wherin they were brought vp euē from their childhode, partely through learninge, and partelye throughe the good ordinaunces and lawes of their weale publique augmente and encrease their manfull courage. By reason whereof they neither set so litle store by their liues, that they will rashely & vnadusedlye caste them away: nor they be not so farre in lewde & fond loue therewith, that they will

The capitaine is chiefely to be pursued to thintente the battell maye the sooner be ended.

will shamefully couete to kepe them, whē honestie bydeth leaue thē, when the battel is hotteſt & in al places most fierce & feruent, & bende of chosen and picked yong men, whiche be sworne to liue & dye togethers, take vpon thē to destroye theire aduerſaries capitaine. Who they inuade now wt priuy wiles, now by open strength. At hym they ſtrike both nere & farre of. Theis aſſayled with a long & a continuall aſſaulte ſet themſelues ſtyll couragiously in the worſt ried mens places. And ſeldome it chaſeeth (onles he haue hymſelfe by flying) that he is not either ſlayne, or els take prisoner, & yelded to his enemies alyue. Nē they wynne the feelde, they perſecute not theire enemies with the violent rage of ſlaughter. For they had rather take them alyue, then kyl thē. Neither they do ſo followe the chaſe & purſute of theire enemies, but they leaue behynde them one parte of theire hoſte in battaile arraye vnder theire ſtandardes. In ſo muche that if al their whole armie be diſcumfeted and ouercum ſauing the rereward, & that they there-

with

wich atchiene the victory, that they had neither lette at their enemies scape, then to folowe them out of arraye. For they remembre, ie hath chaunced unto thē lesse then ones: the whole powre and strēgth of their hoste being vanquished and put to flight, whyles their enemies reioyling in the victory have persecuted them flying some one way & some another, a smalle campanye of theire men lying in an ambushe there redy at all occasions, have sodainelye risen upon them thus dispersed & scattered out of arraye, and through presumption of victory unadvisedly pursuing the chase: and have incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battayll: and spite of theire teethe wrestinge out of their handes the sure & undoubted victorye, being a litle before conquered, have for their parte esquered the conquerers. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in layinge an ambushe, or wilier in auoydinge the same. You would thinke they intende to flye, when they meane nothinge lesse. And contrarye wyse when they go about that purpose, you would

wold beleue it were the leaste parte of
their thought. For if they perceaue the
selues either ouermatched in nūbre, or
closed in too narrowe a place, the they
remoue their campe either in the night
season with silence, or by some pollicie
they deceaue theire enemies, or in the
day time they retiere backe so softely,
that it is no lesse ieopardie to medle wt
the whē they geue backe, the when they
preese on. They fence and fortifie their
campe seuerlye with a deape & a brode
trēche. The earth therof is cast vpward.
For they do not set bundgets & staues
a worke about it. It is doone by the hā
des of the souldiours the selues. All the
whole armye worketh vpon it: except
them that kepe watche and warde in
harneis before the trenche for sodeine
aduentures. Therefore by the labour of
so manye a large trenche closinge in a
greate compasse of grounde is made in
lesse tyme then anye man would be-
leue. Theire armoure or harneye,
whiche they weare, is sure and strong
to receaue strokes, and handsome for
all mouinges and gestures of the bo-

dye

Theire armoure

spiritfulnesse that it is not vnweldye to swymme in. For in the discipline of theire warefare amonge other feates they learne to swim well harnes. Theire weapons be arrowes aloofe: whyche they shote both strongely and surely, not onelye foremen, but also horsemen. At hande stroke they vse not swordes but pollaxes, whyche be mortall, aswell in sharpenes, as in weyghte, bothe for thynges and downe stroke. Engines for warre they deuyse and inuent wonderfully wittelye. Whiche when they be made they kepe verye secrete, leaste yf they shoulde be knowen before neade requyre, they should be but laughed at and serue to no purpose. But in mayntayninge them hereunto they haue chiefe respecte, that they be both easy to be caried, and handsome to be moued, and turned about. Truce taken with their enemies for a shorte time they do so kepe inviolably and faythfullye keape, that they will not breake it: no not though they be thereunto prouoked. They doe not waste nor destroy theire enemies lande with forragynges, nor they burne not vp

Of truces.

by theire come . Yea , they saue it as
muche as may be from being ouerrune
and troden downe either with men or
hozses, thinkinge that it growethe for
theire owne vse and profit. They hurt
no man that is vnarmed , onles he be
an eſpiall. All cities that yelde vnto
them, they defende . And ſuche as
they wynne by force of aſſaulte , they
neither diſpoyle nor ſacke, but thē that
withſtode and diſſuaded the yeldynge
vp of the ſame, they put to deathe ; the
other ſouldiours they punyſhe with
bondage. All the weake multitude they
leaue vntouched . If they knowe that
anye cytezeins counſelled to yealde
rendre vp the citie, to them they gyue
parte of the condemned mens goods.
The reſydewe they diſtribute and giue
freelye amonge them, whole helpe they
had in the ſame warre . For none
of them ſelfes taketh anye portion of
the praye . But when the battaile is
finiſhed and ended , they put theire
frendes to neuer a penny coſte of all the
charges that they were at , but laye it
vpon theire neckes that be conquered.

Theim

them they purueine with the whole charge of their expēces, whiche they demaunde of them partelye in monele to be kept for the vse of battayll, and partelye in landes of greate reuenues to be payde vnto them yearelye for euer. Suche reuenues they haue now in manye countreis, whiche by litle and litle ryslinge of dyuers and sondry causes be increased aboue. vij. hundrethe thousand ducates by the yere. Whether they sende forth some of their citizens as Lieuetenauntes, to liue there sumptuously like men of honoure and renowne. And yet this not withstandinge muche moneye is saued, which cōmeth to the cōmen treasory: onles it so chaūce, that they had rather trust y cōtrey to the money. which many times they do so long, vntil they haue nede to occupie it. And it seldōe happeneth, that thei demaūd al. Of these lādes they assigne part vnto thē, which at their requeste & exhortacion put themselues in such ieopardies, as I spake of before. If anye prince stirre vp warre agaynste them, intending to inuade theire lande, they

mete

meke hym incontinent sute of their owne borders with greate powre and strengthe. For they neuer lyghtely make warre in their owne countrey. Nor they be neuer brought into so extreme necessitie as to take helpe out of forreyne landes into their owne Ilande.

Of the religions in Utopia.

There be diuers kindes of religion not only in sondrie partes of the Ilande, but also in diuers places of euery citie. Some worship for God the sunne: some the mone: some, some other of the planettes. There be that giue worship to a man that was ones of excellente vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefest & hyghest God. But the moste and the wyfest parte (reiectynge al these) beleue, that there is a certayne Godlie

powre

powre vnknowen, euerlastinge, incom
prehensible, inexplicable, farre aboue
the capacitie and reache of mans witte,
dispersed throughoute all the worlde,
not in bignes, but in vertue & power.
Him they call the father of al. To him
alone they attribute the beginninges,
the encreasinges, the procedinges, the
chaunges, and the endes of al thinges.
Neither they geue any diuine honoures
to any other thē to him. Yea al ȳ other
also, though they be in diuers opinions,
yet in this pointe they agree all toge-
thers with the wilest sorte, in beleuing
that there is one chiefe and principall
God, the maker and ruler of the whole
worlde: whome they all commonlye in
their countrey language call Mythra.
But in this they disagree, that among
some he is counted one, & among some
an other. For euery one of the, what so-
euer ȳ is whiche he taketh for the chiefe
god, thinketh it to be the very same na-
ture, to whose only diuine might and
maiestie, the fame and soueraintie of al
thinges by the consent of al people is at-
tributed and geuen. Howbeit they all

begyn by litle and litle to forsake and fall from this varietie of superstitiõs, and to agre togethers in that religion whiche semethe by reason to passe and excell the residewe. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long agoo haue bene abolished, but that whatsoeuer vnprosperous thynge happened to anie of them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulnesse of people did take it, not as a thinge commynge by chaunce, but as sente from GOD out of heauen. As thoughe the God, whose honoure he was forsakynge, woulde reuenge that wicked purpose against him. But after they hearde vs speake of the name of Christe, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of thee no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose bloude wyllingly shedde broughte a great numbre of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde into their sect: you will not beleue with howe gladdе myndes, they agreed vnto the same: whether it were by the secrete inspiration of GOD, or elles for that they

thought

thought it neyghest vnto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I thinke this was no smale helpe & furtheraunce in the matter, that they harde vs say, that Christ instituted among his, al thinges cõmẽ: and that the same communitie doth yet remaine amõgest the rightest Christian companies. Merely howsoeuer it came to passe, manye of thẽ consented togethers in our religion, & were washed in ỹ holy water of baptisme. But because among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left a liue, two of our cõpanye beyng dead) there was no priest, which I am right sorie for: they beynge entered & instructed in al other pointes of our religion, lacke onely those sacramẽtes, whiche here none but priestes do minister. Howbeit they vnderstãd & vnderstande thẽ, & be very desierous of ỹ same. Yea, they reasõ & dispute ỹ matter earnestly amõg thẽselues, whether wout ỹ sending of a christiã bishop, one chose out of their own people may receaue the order of priesthod. And truely they were minded to chuese one. But at my depar

Religions hos tes.

ture from them they had chosen none. They also which do not agree to Christes religion, feare no man from it, nor speake against any man that hath receiued it. Hauing that one of our company in my presence was sharpely punished. He as soone as he was baptised, began against our willes, with more earnest affection, then wisedome, to reason of Christes religiō: and began to waxe so hote in his matter, that he did not only preferre our religiō before al other, but also did vtterly despise & condemne all other, calling the prophane, & the followers of them wicked & deuelish, and the children of euerlastinge damnation. When he had thus longe reasoned the matter, they laid holde on him, accused him, and condemned him into exile, not as a despiser of religion, but as a seditious person, & a raiser vp of dissentiō amonge the people. For this is one of the auncientest lawes amonge them: that no man shall be blamed for reasoninge in the maintenaunce of his owne religion. For king Utopus, euē at the first beginning, hearing ỹ the inhabitantes

of

of the land wer before his cõming thether, at continuall dissention & strife among themselues for their religions: perceyuing also that this cõmon dissention (whiles euery seuerall secte tooke seuerall partes in fighting for their cõmon cause) was the only occasion of his conquest ouer them all, as one as he had got in the victory: Firste of all he made a decree, that it should be lawfull for euerie man to fauoure & folow what religion he would, & that he might do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceablie, gentelie, quietlie, & soberlie, without hastie & contentious rebuking & mouing against other. If he could not by faire and gentle speche induce them vnto his opinion yet he should vse no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeasaunte & seditious woordes. To him that would be Seditious reuolters punished. hermentie and fermentiue in this cause perstue & contende was decreed, banishment or bondage. This lawe did kynge Vtopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he saw through continuall contention & mortal hatred

vtterly extinguished: but also because he thought this decree should make for the furtherance of religion, wherof he durst define and determine nothing vnadui∫edlie, as douting whether god delighting manifolde & diuerse sortes of honour, would inspire sondry me with sondrie kindes of religion. And this surely he thought a very vnmete & folish thing, & a poinct of arrogant presumption, to compell all other by violence & threatenings to agre to the same, that thou beleuest to be trew. Furthermore though there be one religion, which alone is trew, & all other vaine & superstitious, yet did he wel foresee (so that the matter were handeled wt reason, & sober modestie) that the trueth of the owne powre would at the last issue out and come to lyghte. But if contention and debate in that behalfe should continually be vsed, as the woorlde men be moo∫te obstinate and stubbourne, and in their euyll opinion moo∫te constante: he perceaued that then the be∫te and holyest religion would be troden vnder∫ote and de∫troyed by moost vaine

su-

superstitions, euen as good corne is by thornes and weedes ouergrowen and chooked. Therfore all this matter he left vndiscussed, and gaue to euerye man free libertie and choise to beleue what he would. Sauinge that he earnestelye and straitelye charged them, that no man shoulde conceaue so vile and base an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to think that the soules do die and perishe with the bodyes or that the world runneth at al auentures gouerned by no diuine prouidence. And therfore thei beleue that after this life vices be extreamelye punished and vertues bountifully rewarded. Hym that is of a cõtrary opinion they counte not in the numbre of men, as one that hathe auiled the heighe nature of hys soule to the vsuines of brute beastes bodies: muche lesse in the numbre of their citizẽs, whose lawes and ordenãces, if it were not for feare, he would nothyng at al esteme. For you maye be suer that he will studie either with craft priuely to mocke, or els violently to breake the commen lawes of his countrey, in

No vile opinion to be conceaued of mãs worthy nature

whom remaineth no further feare the of the lawes, nor no further hope then of the bodye. Wherfore he that is thus minded is depriued of all honours, excluded from all offices, and reiecte frō all cōmon administratiōs in the weale publique. And thus he is of all sortes despised, as of an vnprofitable, & of a base & vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no punishment, because they be persuaded, that it is in no mans power to beleue what he list. No nor they constraine hym not with threatninges to dissemble his mynde, & shewe countenaūce contrarie to his thought. For deceit & falshod, & all maners of lies, as next vnto fraude, they do meruelously detest and abhorre. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, & that onelye amonge the commen people. For els aparte amonge the priestes and men of grauitie they do not onelye suffer, but also exhorte him to dispute & argue: hoping that at the last, that madnes will geue place to reason. There be also other, and of them no small number, which

Irreligious people excluded from all honours.

A very straūge sayings.

Deceit & falshod detested.

whych be not forbidden to speake theyr mindes, as groūding their opinion vpō some reason, beyng in their liuing neither euell nor vicious. Their heresie is much cōtrarie to the other. For they beleue that the soules of brute beastes be immortall and euerlasting. But nor thynge to be compared with oures in dignitie, neither ordeined and predestinate to like felicitie. For al they beleue certeinly and sewerly that mans bleſſe shal be so great, that they do mourne & lamēt euery mans sickness, but no mās death, oneles it be one whome they see depart frō his life carefullie, & against his will. For this they take for a verye euel token, as though the soule beynge in dispaire, & vexed in cōscience, through some priuie and secret foreteling of the punishement now at hande were aferde to depart. And they thinke he shall not be welcome to God, which when he is called, runneth not to him gladlye, but is drawen by force and sore against his will. They therfore that see this kinde of deathe, do abhorre it, and them that so die, they burie wt̄ sorow and silence

A marueloꝰ straunge opinion touching the soules of brute beastes.

To die vnwillyngly an euel token.

And

And when they haue prayed God to be mercifull to the soule, & mercifully to pardō the infirmities therof, they couer the dead corpse with earth. Contrariewise all that departe merely and ful of good hope, for that no mā mourneth, but followeth the heerse with ioyfull syngyng, cōmendyng the soules to God wt̄ great affectiō. And at the last, not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reuerēce they bourne the bodies. And in the same place they sette vp a piller of stone, with the dead mans titles therin grauen. When they be come home they reherse his vertuous maners and his good dedes. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of as his mery deth. They thinke that this remēbraunce of the vertue & goodnes of the dead doeth vehemētly prouoke & enforce the liuyg to vertue. And that nothing cā be more pleasaunt and acceptable to the deade. Whō they suppose to be present amōg thē, whē they talke of them, though to the dull & feble eie sight of mortall men they be inuisible. For it were an vncōuenient thinge, that the blessed shoulde

not

A melting and a mery deathe vsed to the Lamas.

not be at libertie to goo whether they
wolde. And it were a pointe of greate
vnkindnes in them to haue vtterly cast
awaye the desire of visitinge and seinge
their frendes, to whome they were in
their life time ioyned by mutuall loue
and amitie. Whiche in good men after
their deathe they counte to be rather
increased the diminished. They beleue
therefore that the deade be presentlye
conuersaunt amonge the quicke, as bee
holders and witnesses of all their wor-
des and deedes. Therfore they go more
corragiously to their busines as hauig
a trust and affiaunce in such ouerseers.
And this same belefe of the present con
uersation of their forefathers & aun-
cestours among them, feareth them from
all secrete dishonestie. They vtterly
despise & mocke sothsayinges & diuina
tions of thinges to come by the flighte
or voices of birdes, and all other diui-
nations of vaine superstition, whiche
in other countreis bein greate obser-
uation. But they highlye esteme
and worshyppe miracles that come
by no healpe of nature, as woorkes

Sothsayers not regarded nor credited.

Miracles.

and

and witnesses of the presente power of God. And suche they saye do chaunce there verye often. And sometimes in great and doubtefull matters, by commen intercession and prayers, they procure and obteine the with a sure hope and confidence, and a stedfast beleke.

The life contemplatiue.

They thinke that the contemplation of nature, and the prayse thereof comminge, is to God a very acceptable honoure. Yet there be many so earnestlye bent and affectioned to religion, that they passe no thig for lernig, nor geue their mides to any knowledge of thinges. But ydelnes they vtterly forsake and eschue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten & obteined by busie labors & good exercises. Some therfore of the attende vpō the sicke, some amēde high waies, clense ditches, repaire bridges, digge turfes, grauell, and stones, fel and cleaue wood, bring wood, corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, and serue not onelye in commen workes, but also in priuate laboures as seruauntes, yea more the bondmen. For what so euer vnpleasaunt, harde,

The life actiue.

and

and vile worke is anye where, from the whiche labour, lothsomnes, and despe-ration doth fray other, al that they take vpon them willingly and gladly, procu-ring quiete & rest to other, remaininge in continual worke and labour them-selues, not embrauinge others there-with. They neither reproue other mens liues, nor glorie in theire owne. These men the more seruiceable they behaue theselues, the more they be ho-noured of all men. Yet they be diuided into two sectes. The one is of the that liue single & chast, abstenning not onely from the companie of women, but also from eating of flesh, and some of them from all maner of beastes. Whiche vt-terly reiecting the pleasures of this pre-sent life as hurtfull, be all wholye set vpon the desire of the syde to come by watchynge, and sweatynge, hoopinge ioyfully to obtaine it, deeming in the meane season merie and lustie. The other secte is no lesse desirous of labour, but they embrace matrimonye, not despisynge the solace therof, thinking that they ca-not be discharged of their bounden du-

ties

cies towardes nature without labour and toyle, nor towardes their native countrey without procreation of children. They abstaine from no pleasure that doeth nothinge hinder them from labour. They loue the flesh of foure footed beastes, because they beleue that by ꝑ meate they be made hardier & stronger to worke. The Utopians counte this secte the wiser, but the other the holier. Which in that they preferre single life before matrimony, & that sharp life before an easier life, if herein they grounded vpō reason they would mock them. But now forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religiō, they honor & worship thē. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they cal Buthrescas, the which word by interpretation signifieth to vs men of religion or religious mē. They haue

It is not all one to be wise and good.

Priestes.

priestes of exceding holines, & therefore very few. For there be but xiij. in euery citie accordinge to the number of their churches, sauyng when they go furthe to battell. For than vij. of them goo furth with the armie: in whose steades

so

to manie newe be made at home. But the other at their retourne home again reentre euery one into his owne place, they that be aboue the numbre, vntill suche time as they succede into the places of the other at their dyinge, be in the meane season continuallie in companie with the bishoppe. For he is the chiefe head of thē al. They be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be by secrete voices for the auoydinge of strife. After their electiō they be consecrate of their owne cōpanie. They be ouerseers of al diuine matters, orderers of religions, and as it were iudges and maisters of maners. And it is a great dishonestie & shame to be rebuked or spokē to by any of thē for dissolute and incōtinēt liuing. But as it is their office to geue good exhortatiōs & counsel, so is it ȳ dutie of the prince & the other magistrates to correct and punishe offenders, sauinge that the priestes, whome they find exceading vicious liuers, thē they excommunicate from hauing anye interest in diuine matters. And there is almoste no punishement amonge them more

Excommunication.

more feared. For they runne in verye great infamie, and be inwardly tormented with a secret feare of religion, and shall not long scape free with their bodies. For vnlesse they by quicke repentaunce approue the amendement of their liues to the priestes, they be taken and punished of the counsel, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhode and youth is instructed, and taught of them. For they be not more diligente to instruct them in learning, then in vertue & good maners. For they vse with verie great endeuour and diligence to put into the heades of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliaunte, good opinions and profitable for the conseruation of their weale publique. Which whe they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them al their life after, and be wõders profitable for the defence & maintenaũce of the state of the cõmẽ welth. Whiche neuer decaieth but through vices rising of euill opinions. The priestes, onles they be women (for that kinde is not excluded from priesthoode, howbeit fewe be chosen, and none but widowes

Women priestes.

widdowes and old women) the mē priests, I saye, take to their wiues the chiefest women in all their countreye. For to no office amōg the vtopians is more honour and preeminence geuen. In so much that if they commit any offence, they be vnder no cōmen iudgement, but be left only to god & theselues. For they thinke it not lawful to touch him with mannes handes, be he neuer so vitious, whiche after so singular a sort was dedicate and consecrate to god, as a holy offering. This maner may they easelye obserue, because they haue so fewe priestes, & do chuse the with such circūspection. For it seldome euer chaūceth, that the moste vertuous amonge vertuous, whiche I respect only of his vertue is aduaunced to so high a dignity, lest fal to vice & wickednes. And if it should chaūce in deede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reason they be so fewe, and promoted to no might nor power, but only to honoure, it were not to be feared, any great dammage by them should happen and ensue to the cōmen welthe. They haue so rare and fewe

The maiestie and preeminence of priestes

prieſtes, leaſt if the honour were cõmunicated to many, ꝑ dignitie of the order, which amõg thẽ now is ſo highly eſteemed, ſhould rũne in contẽpt. Eſpecially becauſe they thincke it hard to find many ſo good, as to be meet for that dignitie, to the executiõ & diſcharge wherof it is not ſufficiente to be endued with meane vertues. Furthermore theſe prieſtes be not more eſteemed of their owne countrey mẽ, then they be of forreine & ſtraũge coũtreis: which thinge maye hereby plainly appere. And I thinke alſo ẏ this is the cauſe of it. For whiles ẏ armies be fighting together in open feld they a litle beſide not farre of knele vpõ their knees i their hallowed veſtimẽtes, holding vp their hãdes to heauen: praing firſt of all for peace, nexte for victory of their owne parte, but to neyther part a bloudy victory. If their hoſt gette the vpper hãd, they runne in to the mayne battayle, and reſtrayne their owne men from fleying & cruelly purſuinge theire vanquyſhed enemies, wherche enemyes, yf they doo but ſee them and ſpeake to them, it is ynoughe

for

for the safegarde of theire lyues. And the touchyng of theire clothes defendeth and saueth al their goodes frō rauine and spoyle. This thinge hathe auaūced them to so greate worshyp and trewe quietly among al nations, that manye times they haue wel preserued theire owne citizēs from ỹ cruelnesse of their enemies, as they haue theire enemies from the furyous rage of theire owne men. For it is well knowen, that when theire owne army hathe receiued, and in dyspayre turned backe, and runne away, their enemies fyersly pursuing with slaughter and spoyle, thē the priestes cummyng betwene haue stayed the murder, and parted bothe the hostes. So that peace hath bene made and concluded betwene bothe partes upon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was neuer any nation, so fierce, so cruell, and rude, but they hadde them in suche reuerence, that they counted their bodyes hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violentlye and vnreuerentlye touched. They kepe holye the firste and the laste dayes of

The obseruation of holy daies amonge the Utopians

euerye moneth and yeare, diuydinge the yeare into monethes, whyche they measure by the course of the moone, as they doo the yeare by the course of the sonne. The fyrste dayes they call in theire language Cynemernes, and the laste Trapemernes, the whyche wordes may be interpreted, primifeste and finifest, or els in our speache, first feaste and last feast. Theire churches be verye gorgious, and not onelye of fine and curious workemanship, but also (which in the fewenes of them was necessary) verye wide and large, able to receaue a great company of people. But they be all somwhat darke. Howbeit that was not doone through ignorance in buildinge, but as they say, by the counsel of the priestes. Because they thought that ouer much light doth disperse mens cogitations, whereas in dimme & doubtfull lightethey be gathered together, & more earnestly fired vpon religiō & deuotion: Which because it is not there of one sort among all men, and yet all the kindes and fashions of it, thoughe they be sondry and manifold, agree together

Theis churcheis

Churcheis of dimme light and a reason why

in

in the honour of the diuine nature, as
goyng diuers wayes to one ende: there-
fore nothing is seene nor heard in ꝑ chur
ches, but that semeth to agree indiffe-
rently with the all. If there be a distinct
kind of sacrifice peculiar to anye seue-
rall secte, that they execute at home in
their owne houses. The cõmon sacrifi-
ces be so ordered, that they be no dero-
gation nor preiudice to anye of the pri-
uate sacrifices and religions. There-
fore no ymage of anye god is seene in
the churche, to the intente it maye bee
free for euery man to conceiue god by
their religion after what likenes & si-
militude they will. They call vpon no
peculiar name of god, but only Mithra.
In the which word they all agree toge
ther in one nature of the diuine maiestie
whatsoeuer it be. No prayers bee vsed
but suche as euerye man maye boldelie
pronounce without the offendinge of
anny secte. They come therefore to the
churche, the laste day of euerye moneth
and yeare in the euenynge yet fastinge,
there to gyue thankes to GOD for
that they haue prosperously passed

ouer the yeare or monethe, wherof that holye daye is the laste daye. The nexte daye they come to the churche ear ye in the morninge, to praye to GOD that they maye haue good fortune and successe all the newe yeare or monethe whyche they doo begynne of that same holye daye. But in the holy dayes that be the laste dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the churche, the wiues fall downe prostrat before theire husbandes feet at home, & the children before the feete of their parentes, confessinge and acknowlegings thselues offenders either by some actuall deede, or by omission of their deuty, & desire pardō for their offense. Thus yf anye cloude of priuy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction it is ouerblowen, that they may be present at the sacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. For they be afeard to cōe there with troubled consciences. Therefore if they knowe themselues to beare anye hatred or grudge towardes anye man, they presume not to come to ỹ sacrifices, before they haue reconciled them

The confession of the Prophets

themselues and purged theire consciences, for feare of greate vengeaunce and punyshemente for their offense. When they come thether, the men goo into the ryghte syde of the churche, & the women into the lefte syde. There they place themselues in suche ordre, that all they whyche be of the male kinde in euery houshold sitte before the goodmā of ȳ house, and they of the female kinde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forsene that all theire gestures and behauiours be marked and obserued aboue of thē by whose authority and discipline they be gouerned at home. This also they diligētly see vnto, that the younger euermore be coupled with his elder, lest children beinge ioyned together, they should passe ouer ȳ time ī childish wātōnes, wherin they ought principally to conceaue a religious and deuoute feare towardes god: which is the chiefe and almost ȳ only incitatiō to vertu. They kill no liuing beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clemencye of god hath delite in bloude and slaughter, which hath geuen life to beastes to

An order for places in the Churche.

Ceremonies

the sinke they should leue. They burne frankincence, and other sweet sauours, and light also a great numbre of waxe candelles and tapers, not supposinge this geare to be any thing auayliable to the diuine nature, as neither ỹ prayers of me. But this vnhurtful and harmeles kind of worship pleaseth them. And by thies sweet sauoures and lightes, & other such ceremonies mi seele thselfes secretlye lifted vp, & encouraged to deuotion with more willynge and feruent hartes. The people weareth in the churche white apparell. The priest is clothed in chaungeable colours. wthiche in workemanshipe bee excellent, but in stuffe not verye pretious. For theire vestimentes be neither embrandered with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so fynely and cõningelye with diuers feathers of fowles, that the estimation of no costely stuffe is hable to counteruaile the price of the worke. Furthermore in these birdes fethers, & i the dewe order of them, whiche is obserued in theire setting, they saye, is obteyned certaine

diuine

diuine misteries. The interpretation wherof knowē, whiche is diligentlye taught by the priestes, they be put in remembraunce of the bountifull benefites of God towarde them: and of the loue and honoure whiche of theire behalfe is dewe to God: and also of their deuties one towarde another. When the priest first cōmeth out of the vestrey thus apparelled, they fall downe incōtinent euerye one reuerentlye to the ground, with so still silence on euerye part, that the very fashion of the thinge striketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there personally presente. When they haue lien a litle space on the ground, the priest geueth them a signe for to ryse. Whē they sing prayses vnto God, whiche they intermixt with instrumentes of musicke, for the moste parte of other fashions then these that we vse in this parte of the worlde. And like as some of ours bee muche sweter then theirs, so some of theirs dod farre passe ours. But in one thinge doubtles they goo exceding farre beyonde vs. For all their musike bothe

Theire church musike

bothe that they playe vpon instrumentes, and that they synge with mannes voyce dothe so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the sound & tune is so applied and made agreable to the thinge, that whether it ber a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger: the fashion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye moue, steare, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes. At the laste the people and the priest together rehearse solempne prayers in woordes, expresslye pronounced, so made that euerye man maye privatelye applye to hymselfe that which is commonlye spoken of all. In these prayers euerye man recognisethe and knowledgethe God to be hys maker, hys gouernour, & the principal cause of all other goodnes, thankynge him for so many benefites receaued at his hande. But namelye that throughe the fauoure of God he hath chaunced into that publyque weale, whiche is moste happye and welthye, and hathe chosen

Prayers.

that

that religion, whyche he hopeth to be moste true. In the whyche thinge if he dooe anye thinge erre, or yf there be anye other better then eyther of thes is, being more acceptable to God, he desireth he him that he wyll of his goodnes let him haue knowledge thereof, as one that is ready too followe what waye soeuer he wyll leade hym. But yf this fourme and fashion of a common wealthe bee beste, and his owne religion moste true and perfecte, then he desyreth God to gyue hym a constaunte stedefastnes in the same, and too bringe all other people to the same ordre of lyuynge, and to the same opinion of God onles there bee annye thinge that in this diuersitye of religions dothe delite his vnsercheable pleasure. To be shorte he prayeth hym, that after his deathe he maye come to hym. But how soone or late that he dare not assygne or determine. Howbeit, if it myght stande with his maiesties pleasure, he would be muche gladder to dye a payneful deathe & so to goo to God, the by longe lyuing in worldlye prosperitye to bee

awaye

alwaye from him. When this prayer is
said they fal doune to the ground again
and a lytle after they ryse vp and go to
dinner. And the residewe of the daye
they passe ouer in playes, and exercise
of cheualrye. Nowe I haue declared &
described vnto you, as truelye as I
coulde the fourme & ordre of that com-
men wealth, which verely in my iudg-
ment is not only the beste, but also that
which alone of good right maye claime
& take vpon it the name of a commen
wealth or publique weale. For in other
places they speake all of the commen
wealth. But euery man procureth his
owne priuate gaine. Here where no-
thinge is priuate, the commen affaires
bee earnestlye loked vpon. And true-
ly on both partes they haue good cause
so to do as they do. For in other coun-
treys who knoweth not that he shall
starue for honger, onles he make some
seuerall prouision for himselfe, though
the commen wealthe florysh neuer so
muche in ryches? And therefore he is
compelled euen of verye necessitie to
haue regarde to him selfe, rather then

to

to the people, that is to saye, to other. Contrarywyse there where all thinges be comme to euery man, it is not to be doubted that any man shal lacke anye thinge necessary for his priuate vse: so that the comme store houses & bernes be sufficientlye stored. For there nothinge is distributed after a nyggyshe sorte, neither there is anye poore man or beggar. And thoughe no man haue anye thinge, yet euerye man is ryche. For what can be more riche, then to lyue ioyfully & merely, without all griefe & pensilenes: Not caring for his owne lyuyng, nor vexed or troubled wt his wifes importunate complaynte, nor dreadynge pouertie to his sonne, nor sorrowyng for his doughters dowrey? Yea they take no care at all for the lyuyng and wealthe of themselfes and all theirs, of theire wyfes, theire children, theire nephewes, theire childrens children, and all the succession that euer shall followe in theire posteritie. And yet besydes this there is no lesse prouision for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and im-

potent,

potent, than for them that do nowe labourt and take payne. Here nowe would I fee, if anye man dare bee fo bolde as to compare with this equytie, the iuftice of other nations. Among whom, I forfake God, if I can fynde any ſigne or token of equitie & iuſtice. For what iuſtice is this, that a ryche goldſmythe, or an vſurer, or to bee ſhorte anye of them, which either doo nothing at all, or els that whyche they doo is ſuch, that it is not very neceſſary to the common wealth, ſhould haue a pleaſaunte and a welthie lyuinge, either by Idlenes, or by vnneceſſarye buſines: whan in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, plaunſmythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by ſo greate and continual toyle, as drawing & bearinge beaſtes be ſkant hable to ſuſteine, & againe ſo neceſſary toyle, that without it no common wealth were hable to cõtinewe & endure one yere, ſhould yet get ſo harde and poore a lyuing, & lyue ſo wretched & miſerable a lyfe, that the ſtate and condition of the labouringe beaſtes maye ſeme muche better and

welthier

welthier? For they be not put to soo continuall labeure, nor theire lyuinge is not muche worse, yea to them muche pleasaunter, takynge no thoughte in the meane season for the tyme to come. But these selye poore wretches be presently tormented with barrenus & vnfrutefull labour. And the remembraūce of theire poore indigent and beggerlye olde age kylleth them vp. For theire dayly wages is so lytle, that it will not suffice for the same daye, muche lesse it yeldeth any ouerplus, that may daylye be layde vp for the relefe of olde age. Is not this an vniust and an vnkynde publyque weale, whyche gyueth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldsmythes, & to suche other, whiche be either ydle persones, or els onlye flatterers, and deuysers of vayne pleasures: And of the contrary parte maketh no gentle prouision for poore plowmen, colliars, labourers, carters, yronsmythes, and carpenters: without whome no commen wealth cā cōtinewe? But after it hath abused the labours of theire lustye and

flowring age, at the laste when they be oppressed with olde age and sycknesse being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thinges, the forgettyng their so manye paynefull watchinges, not remembring their so manye and so greate benefites, recompenseth and acquyteth them moste vnkyndly with myserable death. And yet beliues this the riche men not only by priuate fraud, but also by comme lawes do euery day pluck & snatche awaye from the poore some parte of their daily liuig. So where as it semed before vnmete to recompense with vnkyndnes their paynes that haue ben beneficiall to the publique weale, nowe they haue to this their wrong & vniuste dealinge (which is yet a muche worse poynte) geuen the name of iustice, yea & that by force of a law. Therfore whē I consider and way in my mind all these commen wealthes, which now a dayes any where do florish, so god helpeme, I can perceaue nothing but a certein conspiracy of riche men procuringe their owne cōmodities vnder the name and title of the comen wealth. They inuent

and

and deuise all meanes and crafftes, first how to kepe safely, without feare of losing, that they haue vniustly gathered together, & next how to hire and abuse the worke and labour of the poore for as little money as may be. These deuises, when the riche men haue decreed to be kept and obserued vnder colour of the communaltie, that is to saye, also of the poore people, the they be made lawes. But these most wicked and vicious men, when they haue by their vnsatiable couetousnes deuided among themselues al those thinges, which would haue sufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the welth and felicitie of the Utopian commen wealth? Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the vse therof is vtterly secluded & banished, howe greate a heape of cares is cut away? How great an occasion of wickednes and mischefe is plucked vp by the rotes? For who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, rauine, brauling, quarrelling, brabling, strife, chiding, contencion, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punishmentes are rather reuenged

Contempte of Money.

then restrained, do dye when money dieth? And also that feare, griefe, care, labours, and watchinges do perish euen the very same moment that money perisheth? Yea pouerty it selfe, which only semed to lacke money, if money were gone, it also would decrease & vanishe away. And that you may perceaue this more plainly, consider with your selues some barein & vnfruteful yeare, wherin many thousandes of people haue starued for hunger: I dare be bolde to say, ỹ in the end of that penury so much corne or grain might haue bene solde i the rich mens bernes, if they had bene searched, as being diuided among them whome famine and pestilence then consumed, no man at al should haue felt that plague and penury. So easely might mē gette their liuing, if that same worthye princesse lady money did not alone stop vp the waye betwene vs and oure liuing, whiche a goddes name was very excellētly deuised & inuented, that by her the way therto should be opened. I am fewer the ryche men perceaue this, nor they be not ignorannte howe much

better

better it were too lacke noo neceſſarye thyng, then to abunde with ouermuche ſuperfluite: to be tyed oute of innumerable cares & troubles, the to be beſeiged and encombred with great ryches. And I wotte not that either the reſpecte of euery mans priuate commoditie, or els the authority of oure lauloure Chriſte (which for his great wiſdom could not but know what were beſt, & for his inestimable goodnes could not but counſel to that which he knew to be beſt) wold haue brought all the worlde longe agoo into the lawes of this weale publique, if it were not the one only beaſt, pryncelle and mother of all miſchiefe Pride, doth withſtande and let it. She meaſureth not wealth and proſperity by her owne cõmodities, but by the miſerie & incommodities of other, ſhe would not by her good will be made a goddeſſe, yf there were no wretches left, ouer whom ſhe might like a ſcorneful ladie rule & triumph, ouer whoſe miſeries her felicities might ſhyne, whoſe pouertie ſhe myghte beer, torment, and encreaſe by gorgiouſlye ſettynge furthe her richeſſe. Thys hell hounde creapeth in-

Amerueilous ſayinge.

Pryde.

to mens harte: and plucketh the hache from entering the right pache of life. & is so depely roted in mens hertes, that the cā not be plucken out. This fourme and fashion of a weale publique, which I would gladly wish vnto al nations: I am glad yet that it hath chaunced to the vtopiās, which haue followed those institutions of life, wherebi they haue laid such foundations of their commō wealth, as shal cōtinue & last not only wealthely, but also as fay as mās wit may iudge and coiecture, shall endure for euer. For, seyng the chiefe causes of ambitiō & sedition, with other vices be plucked vp by the rootes, and abandoned at home, there can be no ieopardie of domificall dissention, whiche alone hathe cause vnder foote and brought to nought the well fortified and stronglie defenced wealthe and riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect cōcorde remaineth, & wholsome lawes be executed at home, the enuie of al forein princes be not hable to shake or moue the empire, though they haue many tymes log ago gone about to do it, beyng

euer:

therewyth vttered hym. Thus when I had made an ende of this tale, though many thynges came tomy mynde, which in the maners and lawes of that people semed to be instituted and foundyd of no good reason, not onely in the fashion of their chevalry, & in their sacrifices and religions, & in other of their lawes, but also, yea and chiefly, in that whych is the principal foundacion of all their ordinances, that is to say, in the communitie of their life and liuynge, without any occupying of money, by the whych thynge onelye all nobilitie, magnificence, worshippe, honour, and maiestie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a cõmon wealth, vtterlye be ouerthrowen and destroyed: yet because I knew that he was weary of talking, and was not sure whether he could abyde that anye thynge should be sayde against hys minde: specially remembryng that he had reprehended this fault in other, which he afeard lest they should seme not to be wise enough, onles they could find some fault in other mes inuentions

menkiõs: therfore I praising both their institutions and hys communication, toke him by the hand, and led him into supper: saynge that we would chaunge an other time to wayghe and examine the same matters, and to talke with him more at large therin, which would God it might ones come to passe. In the meane time as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he sayde, beyng els without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldelye matters exactly and profoundly experienced: so must I nedes confesse & graunt that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, which I rather wishe for, then hope after in our cities.

¶ Thus endeth the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythlodaye concerning the lawes and institutions of the Ilande of Utopia.

¶ To the right honourable Hierome Buslyde, prouost of Arien, and counsellour to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles Citizein of Antwerpe, wisheth health and felicitie.

THomas Moze the singular ornamente of this our age, as you your selfe (right honourable Buslide) can witnesse, to whome he is perfectly wel knowen, sent vnto me this other day the yllade of Vtopia, to very few as yet knowē, but most worthy, which as farre excelling Platoes commen wealthe, all people shoulde be willinge to know: specially of a man most eloquēt so finely set furth, so cunningly painted out, and so euidently subiect to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me thinketh that I see somwhat more, then whē I heard Raphael Hythloday himselfe (for I was present at that talke aswell as master Moze) vttering and pronouncing his owne woordes: yea, though the same man, accordinge to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plainely enough appeare, to repoꝛte not thinges, which he had learned of others onelye by heareslay, but which he had with his own eyes presētly sene, & throughly vewed, & wherin he had no smal time bene conuersant and abiding: a man truelie, in mine opinio, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and woꝛldly experience, muche passinge, yea euen the very famous and renowned

Scithy, trauailer

traualler Ulysses: in dede suche a one, as for the space of these viij. yeres past I think nature into the worlde brought not furth his like: in compartson of whome Vespuce maye be thought to haue sene nothing. Moreouer, whereas we be wont most effectually and pithely to declare and expresse thinges that we haue sene, then whiche we haue but onelye hearde, there was besides that in this man a certen peculiar grace, and singular dexteritie to discrime and set furth a matter withall. Yet the selfe same thinges as ofte as I beholde & consider them drawen and painted oute with maister Mores penstile, I am therwith so moued, so delited, so inflamed, & so rapt, that sometime me thinke I am presently counterfaunt, euen in the plaunde of Utopia. And I promise you, I can skante beleue that Raphael himselfe by al that fiue yeres space that he was in Utopia abiding, sawe there somuche, as here in maister Mores description is to be sene and perceaued. Whiche description with so manye wonders, and miraculous thinges is replenished, that I stande in great doubt wherat first & chiefe lie to muse or marualle: whether at the excellencie of his perfect and suer memorie, which could welnigh worde by worde rehearse so manye thinges haue onely heard: or elles at his singular prudence, who so well and wittyly marked and bare away al the originall causes and fountaynes (to the vulgare people comonly most vnknowne) wherof both plenty

and

and ſpringeth the mortall confuſion and vtter decaye of a cõmen wealth. and alſo the auaunceme̅t and wealthy ſtate of the ſame may riſe & growe: or elles at the efficacie and pitthe of his woꝛdes, whiche in ſo fine a latin ſtile, with ſuche force of eloquence hath couched togither and compꝛiſed ſo many and diuers matters, ſpeciallie beinge a man continuallie encombꝛed with ſo manye bulye and troubleſome cares, both publique, and pꝛiuate, as he is. Howbeit all theſe thinges cauſe you litle to maruell (eighte honourable Buſlid) foꝛ that you are familiarly and thꝛoughly acquainted with the notable, yea almoſt diuine witte of the man. But nowe to pꝛoceede to other matters, I ſuerly know nothing nedeful oꝛ requiſite to be adioyned vnto his writtinges: Onely a meter of .xiij. verſes writ: ten in the Vtopian tongue, whiche after maſter Moꝛes departure Hythloday by chaunce ſhewed me, that haue I cauſed to be added thereto, w̃ the Alphabete of the ſame nation, and haue alſo garniſhed the margent of the boke with certen notes. Foꝛ, as touchinge the ſituation of the plaũde, that is to ſaye, in what part of the woꝛlde Vtopia ſtandeth, the ignoꝛaunce and lacke whereof not a litle troubleth and greueth matter Moꝛe, in dede Raphael left not that vnſpoken of. Howbeit with verie fewe woꝛdes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by ꝑ way paſſing it ouer, as meanyng of likelihod to kepe and reſerue that to an other place. And the

same, I wot not how, by a certen euell and vnlucky chaunce escaped vs bothe. For when Raphael was speaking therof, one of master Moyes seruauntes came to him, & whispered in his eare. Wherefore I beyng the more purpose more earnestly addict to heare, one of the company, by reason of cold taken, I thinke, a shippebord, coughed out so loude, that he tolde from my hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil neuer rynte, nor rest, vntil I haue gotte the full and exacte knowledge hereof: insomuche that I will be hable perfectly to instructe you, not onely in the longitude or true meridian of the plaude, but also in the iust latitude therof, that is to say, in the sublenatiō or height of the pole in that region, if our frende Nythloday be in safetie, and alyue. For we heare very vncerten newes of him. Some reporte, that he died in his iorney homewarde. Some agayne affirme, that he returned into his coūtrey, but partly, for that he coulde not away with the fashions of his countrey folke, and partly for that his minde and affectiō was altogether set and fired vpon Utopia, they say that he hathe taken his voyage thetherwarde agayne. Now as touching this, that the name of this plād is nowhere founde amonge the olde and auncient cosmographers, this doubte Nythloday himselfe verie well dissolued. For why it is possible enoughe (quod he) that the name, whiche it had in olde time, was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that

they

ther neuer had knowledge of this prouince, as now in our time diuers landes be found, which to the olde Geographers were vnknowen. Howbeit, what neadeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter with argumentes, seynge matter More is author herof sufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, in deede herein I both commende, and also knowledge the mannes modestie. Howbeit vnto me it semeth a worke more vnworthie to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abroad into mennes handes of me, yea, and vnder the title of youre name to be publyshed to the worlde: either because the singular endowmentes and qualities of master More be to no man better knowen then to you, or els because no man is more fitte and meete, then you with good counselles to further, and auaunce the commen wealth, wherin you haue many yeares already continued and trauailed with great glory and commendation, bothe of wisedome and knowledge, and also of integritie and vprightnes. Thus o liberall supporter of good learninge, and flowre of this oure time I pray you moste hartely well to fare. At Antwerpe. 1516. the first daye of Nouember.

Cameter

¶ A meter of. iiij. verses in the Utopian tongue, wherein to commende at well the straunge beginning, as also the happie and wealthie continuance of the same common wealthe.

Vtopos ha Boccas pesula chama polu chamnan.
Barpol he nasplami Baccan sumna gymnosophaon,
Agrama gymnosophon labaren barbu bodamilamin.
Volvola barchin bemar la Laulusala drammy paglon.

¶ Wherin verses the translator, according to his simple knowledge, and meane understanding in the Utopian tongue, hath thus rudely englished.

MY kinge and conquerour Utopus by name
A prince of much renowme & immortall fame
Hath made me an yle that earst no plaue was,
Ful fraught w̄ mortuly welth w̄ pleasure & solas.
I one of all other without philosophie
Haue shaped for man a philosophicall stile,
As myne I am nowhere daunger ous to imparte,
So better to receaue I am redie w̄ al my harte.

¶ A shorte meter of Utopia, written by Anemolius poete laureate, and nephewe to Pythlodaye by his sister.

M E Utopie cleped Antiquitie,
Utopie of hauute and herborroughe.
Howe am I like to Platoes citie,
Whole fame flieth the worlde throughe.
Yea like, or rather more likely
Platoes platte to excell and paſſe.
For what Platoes penne hathe platted briefely
In naked wordes, as in a glaſſe,
The ſame haue I perfourmed fully,
With lawes, with men, and treaſure fyttely:
Wherfore not Utopie, but rather rightely
My name is Eutopie: A place of felicitie.

¶ Gerarde Nouiomage of Utopia.

D Oth pleaſure pleaſe? then place the here, and well the reſt,
Moſt pleaſaunt pleaſures thou ſhalte finde here,
Doeth profit taſte? the here arriue, this ple is beſt.
For paſſinge profettes do here appeare.
Doeth bothe thee tempte, and wolde ſt thou gripe both gaine and pleaſure?
This ple is fraight with both bounteouſly.
To fill thy gredie intent, reape here incomparable treaſure
Both minde and tongue to garniſhe richelie.
The hid welles & foũtaines both of vice & vertue
Thou haſt them here ſubiect vnto thine eye.
Be thãkful now, & thankes where thankes be due
Geue to Thomas More Lõdõs immortal glorye.

For:

¶ Cornelius Graphey to the Reader.

Wilt thou knowe what wonders straunge
be in the lande that late was founde?
Wilte thou learne thy life to leade,
by diuers wayes that godly be?
Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, vnderstande the very grounde?
Wilt thou see this wretched worlde, how ful it is of vanitie?
Then reade, and marke, and beare in mind, for thy behoufe, as thou maie beft.
All thinges that in this preſent worke, that worthie clerke ſir Thomas More,
With witte diuine ful learnedly, vnto the worlde hath plaine expreſt,
In whom London well glory maye, for wiſedome and for godly lore.

The

¶ The Printer to the Reader.

The Utopian Alphabete, good Reader, whiche in the aboue written Epistle is promised, herunto I haue not now adioyned, because I haue not as yet the true characters or fourmes of the Utopiane letters. And no maruell: seyng it is a tongue to vs muche straunger then the Indian, the Persian, the Syrią, the Arabicke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclauonian, the Cipriă, the Scythiă &c. Which tōgues though they be nothing so straunge among vs, as the Utopian is, yet their characters we haue not. But I trust, God willing, at the next impression hereof, to performe that, whiche nowe I can not: that is to saye: to exhibite perfectly vnto thee, the Utopian Alphabete. In the meane time accept my good wyl. And so fare well.